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A VIEW OF UNIVERSAL *MODERN* HISTORY.

A

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OF

UNIVERSAL

MODERN

HISTORY.

BRITISH MUSEUM

A

VIEW

OF

UNIVERSAL

MODERN

HISTORY,

FROM THE FALL

OF THE

ROMAN EMPIRE.

VOL. III.

Tranſlated from the laſt Edition of the celebrated

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BRITISH MUSEUM

VIEW
OF
Modern Univerſal Hiſtory.

REFLECTIONS.

RELIGION.

LUTHERANISM remained nearly in the ſame ſituation. The torrent by which men were hurried into innovations, carried them in crowds towards calviniſm, a doctrine ſtill more new and daring. This worſhip had gained over powerful princes in Germany, ſubjected the United Provinces, divided Switzerland, conquered England, and exhibited the moſt bloody ſcenes in Scotland and France. In all thoſe places it aſſumed different forms, according to the characters of the protectors.

In London where it was eſtabliſhed by a queen who endeavoured to ſubject the people to the yoke of obedience, and who loved pomp from motives of policy as well as the natural inclination of the ſex, that religion found it neceſſary to unite ſubordination and oſtentatious parade with its precepts; hence that hierarchy of the Romiſh

church, that ſpecious pomp and thoſe majeſtic ceremonies have ſurvived the worſhip of which they formed a part. Introduced in all other places by men of obſcure condition, who were enemies to luxury, becauſe their fortunes could not allow it, and to authority as they had no ſhare in it, calviniſm affected rigid auſterity and total independence. It ſtripped the temples of their ornaments, aboliſhed the liturgy, trampled upon croſſes, rent the diſtinctive garments of the miniſters of religion, and deſtroyed all difference that cuſtom for ſo many ages had eſtabliſhed between them and the laity. Such was the form in which it appeared in Holland and Switzerland, and for which it ſhed ſo much blood in Scotland and France. No religious war, perhaps, was ever purſued with greater rage and violence, or produced more criminal horrors than in thoſe two laſt kingdoms. Calviniſm, however, acted a very different part in each: in France, the catholics, or rather the heads of the ſtate, abuſed the name of the moſt venerable religion, and to all appearance were moſt culpable. The reſtleſs ſpirit of Catherine of Medicis, the artful ambition of the Guiſes, and the imprudent zeal of ſome of the clergy, forced the reformed party to take up arms. The latter on the contrary ſeemed to have made war not from inclination but neceſſity; the greater part deſired nothing more than the free exerciſe of their religion, and were ready to become peaceable citizens and faithful ſubjects. After the pacification of Moulins, they

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were eager to teſtify their zeal in retaking Havre, which the Engliſh had ſurpriſed during the troubles. The brave la Noue, ſeeing no hopes of reconciling his real duty to his ſovereign with his imaginary obligations to his party, threw himſelf into the midſt of the enemy in order to put an end to his exiſtence, and was preſerved from his heroic deſpair againſt his inclination. Coligny gave the moſt ſage advice in the counſel, exerted all his efforts to improve commerce and the marine, and traced the firſt ſketch of the plan of policy that was brought to perfection afterwards by Henry the Great. Roſni, Merney, and Florent Chretien were looked upon as the moſt virtuous men of their country.

In Scotland, the heads of the calviniſts were either hypocrites, who, under the cloak of reformation, endeavoured to gratify their pride, or fanatics, who really imagined that heaven had commiſſioned them to revolt; but they were all barbarous and ſanguinary, who breathed nothing but blood and ſlaughter, and were continually invoking the ſacred name of God to juſtify the moſt atrocious crimes. Inſtead of reflecting on the many images of clemency and meekneſs ſanctified in the goſpel, and the numberleſs paſſages inculcating patience, ſubmiſſion and charity, their gloomy imaginations were filled with nothing but the frightful examples of the old teſtament, ſuch as the children of Phineas ſacrificing thouſands of their countrymen; the Iſraelites exterminating whole nations, and ſeizing upon their

inheritance. Samuel cutting an idolatrous king to pieces, and making it an unpardonable crime to betray any ſigns of compaſſion; bears appearing at the voice of Eliſah, and devouring the children who had inſulted him; the ſame prophet commanding the murder of the king of Iſrael; John maſſacring the kings of Judah, ſhedding the blood of eighty princes, and throwing a queen headlong from the top of her palace.

Inflaming their minds by the contemplation of thoſe myſterious rigours, they verily believed that God had impoſed it as a duty on them, to deſtroy, by every means in their power, all thoſe whom they conſidered as his enemies, becauſe they oppoſed their opinions; they looked upon it as the moſt meritorious ſacrifice, in the eyes of the Supreme Being, to ſtifle the voice of nature, to trample upon all rank and diſtinction, particularly to pull down altars and thrones.

How happened it that the ſame doctrine produced ſuch oppoſite effects? To the glory of litterature, we muſt allow that it alone occaſioned the diſparity. As the improvement of learning corrected on one ſide the ſeverity of the tenets, ſo the contempt in which it was held by the other ſtrengthened their barbarous ſentiments. Knox and Wiſhart were men of profound ignorance; all their knowlege conſiſted in ſome detached texts, the depths of which they could not comprehend, and they applied them in a manner equally dangerous and abſurd. Hence aroſe that ridiculous enthuſiaſm and cruel fanaticiſm that made

made the Scoth reformers ſo contemptible and odious.

The French reformers on the contrary had many learned men amongſt them, and ſome of diſtinguiſhed merit; Beza, who directed the churches of France, was not only one of the moſt learned divines of the age, but a man of the firſt genius; Dupleſſis Mornay was admired as an intrepid ſoldier, a great captain, and an author of immenſe erudition. Florent Chretien, the preceptor of the great Henry, was a man of the moſt extenſive learning; no perſon in Europe was better acquainted with the ancient Greek writers. Moſt men of learning were inclined to favour the reformation, and it is a fact well known, that the ableſt legiſlator of the age had his grandſon educated in that worſhip.

The Roman church, on her ſide, had in every country of her communion, great divines and defenders truly eſtimable. Such were Bellarmin, the ableſt and moſt methodical logician among the ſchoolaſtic divines; Maldonat, an excellent and bold commentator of the ſcriptures; Laynez, the real founder of the ſociety of the Jeſuits; Tolet, the Spaniard, who, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of his country, ſo effectually ſerved Henry IV; Oſius, the Polander, of whom an emperor ſaid, that his heart was the temple, and his mouth the oracle of the Holy Ghoſt; the famous du Perron, whoſe prodigious memory and aſtoniſhing elocution occaſioned him to be called the ſledge of heretics; and in fine the

cardinal Lorraine, ſtyled the Mercury of France, as his brother was ſir-named the Mars.

Disputes concerning predeſtination and grace diſturbed at the ſame time the catholic and proteſtant churches. Baius, a doctor of Louvain, miſled by an injudicious peruſal of the writings of St. Auguſtine, fancied they contained frightful decrees with reſpect to the deſtiny of mankind, and aſcribing every thing to grace, ſeemed to take away all liberty and free-will. Molina, the Spaniard, on the contrary, formed a ſyſtem that was taxed with deſtroying the divine determinations, and his enemies, who accuſed him of allowing too much to free-will, complained that he excluded all efficacy of grace.

Rome condemned Baius, and the diſpute he occaſioned was then confined to the ſchool where it originated. The affair of the jeſuit Molina made more noiſe; the ſociety of which he was a member defended him, and the Dominicans attacked him with violence. The pontiff brought the affair before his tribunal, where it was debated in the famous aſſemblies, ſtyled *de Auxiliis*. The controverſy was long and obſtinate; Paul V at length put an end to thoſe diſputes which, as they related to objects inacceſſible to human penetration, were not of a nature to be determined, and ſerved only to foment a dangerous animoſity.

The ſame ſubject divided the calviniſts. Arminius, from a mild and benevolent diſpoſition, was ſhocked at the doctrine of eternal reproba-

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tion, in the manner it was explained by the Apoſtle of Geneva; ſenſible of the dangerous tendency of repreſenting God in a light ſo horribly tremendous, inſtead of the fantaſtic image of a tyrant, he endeavoured to ſubſtitute the true features of a father.

The Supreme Being, according to the principles of the Dutch divine, had an equal love for all mankind, made himſelf a ſacrifice for all, and gave them all the grace neceſſary to gain eternal ſalvation. Men had it in their power to obey or reſiſt the ſuggeſtions of his heavenly aſſiſtance, and were maſters of their future deſtiny. God, from whoſe eternity all ages are ever preſent to his view, for he ſees the happy or fatal uſe men ſhall make of his favours, and it is in conſequence of this preſcience that he pronounces the ſentence of condemnation or the infalliable decree of their ſalvation.

The love of mankind carried Arminius ſtill farther; he would have perſecution baniſhed from the church as well as the ſtate; he was perſuaded that no ſect, poſſeſſing the fundamental principles of chriſtianity, is excluded from divine mercy. Even thoſe, who cut by their total incredulity or ſinful conduct ſhould become victims of juſtice, do not merit eternal puniſhment, according to his ideas. He imagined there would be a time when all men, united by virtue and love, ſhould bleſs their common father and enjoy equal happineſs.

THIS opinion was, no doubt, subject to difficulties, but it offered some degree of probability to reason, was a powerful consolation to mankind, and calculated to inspire all hearts with that tender respect due to the Supreme Being; it raised a cloud of opponents who, with St. Paul in their hand, united to crush Arminius under that venerable authority. The violent Gomar was at the head of his enemies: he prevailed, and the rigid doctrine of Calvin triumphed in the synods. This schism among the protestants was, at first, confined to their churches, but became afterwards an affair of state, and a theological dispute brought to the very brink of ruin a republic that had been established by the most astonishing efforts of wisdom and valour.

RELIGIOUS ORDERS.

THE passion for monastic foundations was extinguished with the blind zeal that produced them. None now appeared but moderate establishments, where the virtue of those who devoted themselves was the more respectable, as it was always free, and where the facility of shaking off the yoke made it the more pleasing, and displayed the merit of those who persevered in a more glorious light.

AMONG the honorary orders founded in this century, that of the Holy Ghost, instituted by Henry III in France, was the most illustrious. This famous order has subsisted for two centuries with the same degree of splendor, and is still

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the moſt glorious diſtinction of the chief nobility of that powerful monarchy.

REVOLUTIONS.

THE new republic of Holland was eſtabliſhed in Europe, and ſoon after became one of her brighteſt ornaments. The auſterity and ſuperſtition of Granvelle, the ſeverity of Philip II, the rigours of the inquiſition and the cruelty of the duke of Alba, produced the firſt inſurrection. The capacity of the firſt prince of Orange, the military talents of the ſecond, and the aſſiſtance of Elizabeth inforced ſucceſs. The conſtancy, patience, valour and induſtry of the new republicans eſtabliſhed their liberty on a foundation not to be ſhaken. The moſt aſtoniſhing commerce, both with reſpect to its origin and progreſs, ſecured their proſperity and completed their glory.

THE Dutch, fifty years after their rebellion, held the balance of power of the world. The annals of mankind cannot perhaps furniſh another example of a revolution ſo wonderful in any age or nation. It is an immortal monument of the moſt glorious height to which human induſtry has ever attained; it may ſerve as an eternal leſſon to princes, for ſince the pooreſt and weakeſt people have been able to ſhake off the yoke of the moſt powerful and opulent monarch, they muſt acknowlege that nothing can ſecure their authority when they have made it odious.

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The revolution of Portugal which became a province to Spain proceeded from ordinary cauſes. The temerity of Sebaſtian, the weakneſs of cardinal Henry, the extraordinary ſuperiority of Philip and the talents of the duke of Alba effected the ſubjection of Liſbon.

It was accelerated perhaps by the ardour with which the Portugueze, for above a century, had been removing to diſtant ſettlements. Engroſſed by the deſire of ſpreading themſelves to the extremities of both hemiſpheres, and of making their name reſpectable as well as their commerce flouriſhing, they paid too little attention to the internal ſtrength of the ſtate. Their defenceleſs frontiers were unable to reſiſt a power that had the beſt infantry and ableſt generals in the world.

The union of the crowns of England and Scotland is one of the moſt intereſting events in the annals of policy, from the influence it afterwards had on the ſyſtem of Europe. The right of ſucceſſion that naturally belonged to James Stuart, was doubtleſs the firſt cauſe of that revolution, but the conduct of Elizabeth alſo greatly contributed to the ſame event. This object was one motive for her cruel treatment of the queen of Scotland. Had Mary been at liberty, ſhe would have educated her ſon in the religion ſhe profeſſed; the prince, in that caſe, upon the throne becoming vacant, would have found the Engliſh powerful enemies from their attachment to the reformation; and this might have raiſed inſur-

mountable

mountable obſtacles againſt his acceſſion.—The captivity of Mary made it impoſſible for her to give any inſtructions to her ſon; Elizabeth was abſolute at Edinburgh, and inſpired the young ſovereign with ſentiments conformable to thoſe ſhe had adopted. By this ſpecies of ſeduction, ſhe opened his way to the throne, and removed every difficulty that might obſtruct the union of the three kingdoms, which that princeſs moſt ardently wiſhed to accompliſh.

HUNGARY, that became a province of Auſtria, loſt her liberty by the effeminacy and weakneſs of the ſultans her protectors, who were not worthy of ſucceeding to the great Soliman; this misfortune proceeded likewiſe from the exceſs of her rights and privileges, a circumſtance that is ever fatal to nations, becauſe it is impoſſible for them to avoid abuſing them, and ſuch abuſe neceſſarily produces diſorder and confuſion.

DESPOTISM, on the contrary, occaſioned the troubles in Ruſſia, becauſe ſovereigns, who have no other laws but their own capricious inclinations, are neceſſarily led to commit acts of tyranny, and this forces the ſubjects to have recourſe to violent methods, equally fatal to the ſecurity of the throne and the happineſs of the nation. The imprudence of Sigiſmond was the only cauſe that deprived him of Sweden; his fall is an example to teach kings that the ſcepter is never ſecure in their hands, when they attempt

tempt to exert its authority in tyrannising over the conſciences of their people.

We meet with important revolutions in the families of ſovereigns. The Houſe of Tudor poſſeſſed the crown of England from the time of Henry VII, but was now extinguiſhed and ſucceeded by the Stuarts. The family of Valois, who had been ſeated on the throne of France from the reign of Philip VI, that is for two centuries and a half, were now fallen with Henry III, and the branch of Bourbon, proceeding from the ſame ſtock, ſucceeded to the crown. The Jagellons, who had governed Poland for two hundred years, terminated with Sigiſmond II, and the crown, ſince that period, has been alternately obtained by different families.

GOVERNMENTS.

In every country ſubject to the Auſtrian princes the government has become abſolute. The ſovereign authority has ſubjected every thing in Spain, in Germany, in Bohemia, and Hungary. The ſpirit of deſpotiſm, which then prevailed in that family, has been felt in every country ſubject to their authority.

England became a monarchy of almoſt unbounded authority under Elizabeth. Except the article of ſupplies, all the rights and privileges of the people relative to adminiſtration, were ſwallowed up by the prerogatives of the crown. The artful princeſs had the more effectually

fectually enſlaved the nation, as ſhe made the people pleaſed with their chains, by ſtudying their glory and happineſs.

EVERY thing was in confuſion in France, under the children of Henry II, and eſpecially in the reign of the laſt. Henry IV, reſtored the true monarchy, and perhaps there never was a more perfect one, or a government more happy in all reſpects, a king abſolute maſter in every thing relative to the national intereſt abroad, and in the power of doing good to his ſubjects; the ſame king aſſembling his people where laws are to be enacted, conſulting with them as with his family, and never deciding without their conſent, the intermediate tribunals charged with the execution of thoſe laws, never ſuffering themſelves to be carried by ambition beyond the bounds of their authority, and rarely troubled with extrajudiciary commiſſions; to ſee, in ſhort, the monarch, miniſters, magiſtrates and ſubjects all conſpiring to the general welfare, is doubtleſs one of the moſt glorious objects that the annals of the world can produce.

ILLUSTRIOUS PRINCES and MINISTERS.

FEW ages have produced kings more conſummate in the art of governing, than thoſe of the preſent epocha. Where can we find princes of ſuch exalted talents as Philip II, Elizabeth and Henry IV. The profound policy of Philip proceeded by oblique paths, was ſupported by every art and deceit that appeared uſeful, and preferred

red criminal meaſures as the readieſt and moſt effectual.

The policy of Elizabeth was founded on aſtoniſhing penetration, that could judge of every expedient, and diſtinguiſh the ſafeſt; ſhe very ſeldom made uſe of criminal methods, and did not employ deceit or cunning until ſhe had tried every other expedient.

The policy of Henry was built on that noble confidence of a hero, who feels ſufficient reſources in his conſcious dignity of ſoul and exalted courage; it proceeded from the moſt open and generous plan, diſdaining the arts of duplicity and abhorring the very idea of crimes.

Philip failed in the greateſt part of his ſchemes, Elizabeth and Henry generally ſucceeded in their deſigns; this is a proof that the ſafeſt policy is that which conciliates the hearts of the ſubjects and the confidence of foreign powers.

The miniſters of thoſe three ſovereigns reſembled them in character and prove the ſame truth. Granvelle with genius and talents had the duplicity of his maſter, and occaſioned part of the misfortunes of Spain. Walſingham, the confidant of Elizabeth, ſucceeded by the ſame ſpecies of prudence; Sulli, the friend of Henry IV, had, like him, that noble candour which gained him the eſteem of France, and made his word ſacred in the eyes of his enemies.

MILITARY COMMANDERS.

EUROPE in no age ever ſaw commanders more able or more diſtinguiſhed by eminent talents. Spain exhibited the duke of Alba and the marquis of Sainte Croix; Italy the duke of Parma, and Spinola the Genoeſe; Holland, William and Maurice his ſon, the true creators of her liberty. France admired Condé, Coligny, the two Guiſes, the two Birons, Mercoeur, who, after giving ſo much trouble to his ſovereign in Brittany, went to Hungary in perſuit of triumphs leſs culpable, and acquired immortal glory againſt the Ottomans; Mount Luc, who tarniſhed the luſtre of his exploits by his cruel treatment of the proteſtants; des Adrets, who diſgraced immortal actions, by his barbarity to the catholics; Leſdiguieres, who fought at the ſame time againſt his ſovereign and a foreign prince, and preſerved Dauphiny by attempting to enſlave it; the faithful, the generous and virtuous Crillon, who was honoured with the epithet of brave by Henry IV himſelf; La Noue, in whom it was difficult to determine which to eſteem moſt, his probity, his capacity or valour.

IN Poland, Zamoſki was the ſafeguard of his prince, the conqueror of the Auſtrians, the terror of the Turks, and the favourite and liberal patron of litterature. In England appeared Eſſex, who died ſo ingloriouſly after having lived with ſo much honour; Mountjoy, who diſ-

diſplayed ſo much prudence in the conqueſt of Ireland; Drake who ſaved his country, and gaigned triumphs in all the ſeas of our globe; and Sidney, the moſt worthy citizen, poliſhed courtier, improved genius, and ableſt warrior of that glorious reign.

MINISTERS.

ABLE miniſters diſputed the glory of ſerving France with the defenders of that kingdom; d'Oſſat was the firſt man of the age in the buſineſs of negociation; twas he who managed the intereſts of Henry ſo well at Rome; he fruſtrated Italian craft and Spaniſh pride, and as a reward for his ſervices was inveſted with the purple; the letters remaining of that great man are maſter-pieces, where every miniſter may find the true principles of the ſcience of negociation. Biſhop Montluc diſtinguiſhed by ſixteen embaſſies, diſplayed ſuch abilities in each that he ſucceed in the moſt intricate affairs; he had the art to perſuade the Polanders to give their throne to a prince who was no way worthy of the honour of reigning over the galant nobles of that country.

ANTHONY DE NOAILLES gained admiration at Conſtantinople, where he ſerved all Chriſtendom, and at Venice where France triumphed through his management; he prevailed upon the ſenate to declare publicly the pre-eminence of his court over that of Spain, notwithſtanding the weak ſtate of the former and the proſperous condition of the latter. Anthony Ferrier aſſerted the boldeſt truths

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in the Council of Trent, and preſerved the prerogatives of his prince. To thoſe names we may add that of Fra-Paolo who, with ſuch ſpirit and ſtrength of argument, ſupported the liberty of Venice and the independence of ſovereigns.

LEGISLATION.

Legislation exhibits a ſingular phenomenon in the courſe of this epocha; France was never more agitated, all orders of the ſtate were never in greater confuſion and diſorder; yet the beſt laws were enacted by the ſovereign. In the reign of Charles IX which was a continual ſcene of troubles, fanaticiſm and bloodſhed, the moſt excellent regulations were made. The chancellor de l'Hopital effected this prodigy. That great man made the voice of juſtice be heared notwithſtanding the violent ſtorms that ſhook the throne on every ſide; he inſpired a ſanguinary and unjuſt king with edicts full of equity and clemency; and thoſe very edicts ſtill form the greateſt ornament of the French laws. His virtue at length grew incommodious to vicious maſters; they were provoked to find all their attempts ineffectual to make him an accomplice in their crimes, and therefore diſmiſſed and baniſhed him.

In his retreat he devoted himſelf entirely to the ſtudy of the polite arts, and in thoſe pleaſing purſuits endeavoured to ſooth the affliction he felt for the misfortunes of his country. Great magiſtrates ſeconded the deſigns of this philoſopher; among others Criſtopher de Thou, the delight of literature and an object of veneration

with all parties; Achilles de Harlay, a model of conſtancy in his duty and fidelity to his maſter; Jeannin, whoſe fate it was to join the confederates, diſplayed the greateſt moderation and wiſdom in the midſt of that barbarous and licentious people; and who, having afterwards returned to the legitimate party, ſerved them ſo effectually by his prudent counſel. Duranti, the oracle of the parliament of Toulouſe, who was aſſaſſinated by the confederates and fell a victim to the terror with which his virtue inſpired them. Stephen Paſquier, Anthony Arnaud and the two Pithous were the oracles of the bar, and arrived at the greateſt honours. It was not in pleading common cauſes only that thoſe orators diſtinguiſhed themſelves; their eloquence never was diſplayed with greater force than when they defended the rights of the throne againſt thoſe fanatics who inſulted its dignity, and againſt the pontiffs who attacked its independence.

Jurisprudence, protected by thoſe able magiſtrates, was cultivated with great ſucceſs. Cujas taught at Toulouſe, and acquired a reputation that time has increaſed; his deciſions have the force of laws and his works juſtify the ſingular privileges with which that celebrated man has been honoured. His pupil and rival Loyſel gained immortal reputation by this treatiſe on the French laws. The collection of the ſtatutes of Toulouſe, and the commentaries of fiefs have made Roche-Flavin the oracle in that branch of juriſprudence. Italy boaſts of Pancirole, Germany preſents Hotmant, England extols the two Bacons, one held the ſeals of that kingdom

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for a conſiderable time with the greateſt applauſe, the other threw the greateſt light on legiſlation before he became the creator of Philoſophy.

NAVIGATION.

THE progreſs of navigation continued and new countries were diſcovered. Drake ſailed round the world by a way till then unknown, diſcovered new iſlands, and made the injuries he occaſioned to the Spaniards inſtrumental to the advancement of human knowlege. Raleigh penetrated as far as Guiana, a rich country of ſouth America where no Europeans had landed before; on the coaſt of North America he laid the foundation of the preſent flouriſhing colonies in that part of the world. Forbiſher, Hudſon and Davis ſailed towards the North Pole, and if they were diſappointed in effecting a paſſage, they had however the advantage of diſcovering ſtrange nations, extenſive coaſts and immenſes bays, to which they have given their names.

THE Spaniards formed ſettlements in the Marian Iſlands, ſeized upon Carolina where they maſſacred the French, who attempted to fortify themſelves there by the encouragement of Coligny. The gallant de Gourgue ventured alone to vindicate the injury done to his nation, but his proceedings being diſavowed at the court of Charles IX, he was near ſuffering for the action of a hero like a criminal. Navigation that had been entirely neglected under the three laſt princes of the Houſe of Valois, was revived by the family of Bourbon. Henry and Sulli reſumed the plan

of founding colonies; and that of Canada, now ſo flouriſhing, owed its origin to thoſe two great men.

The efforts of navigators were ſeconded by the ſtudy and labours of geographers. Defective maps had frequently led pilots into fatal errors. They made uſe of thoſe invented a century before by prince Henry of Portugal. Mercator the Flandrican firſt diſcovered their defects and endeavoured to correct them; Wright the Engliſhman adding to his ideas gave them all the improvement of which they were capable; but towards the cloſe of the ſixteenth century Hondius, a German, invented a new ſpecies of maps, that in a manner completed the wiſhes of mariners: they were adopted a few years after by all Europe and have proved a ſecure guide to navigators.

COMMERCE.

The centre of commerce was once more changed; the ſubjection of Portugal deprived her of that advantage, and the war in which ſhe was involved, through her dependence on Spain, almoſt entirely ruined her colonies. The Dutch and Engliſh ſeized upon the advantage which ſhe loſt. Elizabeth devoted all her attention to the improvement of that important reſource of ſtate; her ſubjects, animated by her cares, ſailed in queſt of whales to the Greenland ſeas, to Archangel for furrs, for ivory on the coaſt of Africk, to Mexico and Peru for precious metals. The colony of Virginia was eſtabliſhed under her protection; and this queen who, when ſhe aſcended

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the throne, ſaw her people without trade and almoſt without ſhips, had the ſatisfaction to behold them, at the latter part of her reign, contending for ſuperiority in thoſe advantages over all other nations.

The Dutch followed the example of the Engliſh, and in a few years became their rivals. The laws, by which Philip intended to ruin them, became the ſource of their proſperty. That prince ſeeing thoſe republicans could not be ſupported but by the money they derived from commerce, was in hopes of cutting of that ſource by excluding them from the ports of his dominions; but the Hollanders, whoſe reſolution always converted the means employed for their deſtruction to the advantage of their liberty, finding themſelves unable to carry on any trade with Europe, formed the deſign of transferring the centre of their trafic to Aſia. This was the origin of their India-Company. It was at firſt compoſed of a ſmall number of merchants of ſlender fortunes, and they had but very few ſhips. The ſucceſs of their firſt eſſay enabling them to attempt greater, they made ſuch rapid progreſs in a ſhort time, that they were in a condition to fit out a conſiderable fleet. Then uniting force with induſtry they attacked the Spaniards and Portugueze at four thouſand leagues from Liſbon, ſtripped them of almoſt all their poſſeſſions beyond the Ganges, and made themſelves maſters of the ſpice-trade. This ſource of riches, augmented by perſevering labour, extraordinary patience and aſtoniſhing economy, gave opulence to individuals, enriched

the public treaſury, and made Holland one of the firſt powers in the world.

This republic that could not pay 10,000 troops againſt Philip II, maintained above 50,000 againſt his ſon, granted ſubſidies to ſeveral ſovereigns, had kings tributary to her in Aſia, forced nature in Europe, raiſed dykes that confined the ocean, opened numberleſs and magnificent canals, and changed her marches into fertile paſtures, her villages into ſplendid cities, and her cottages into palaces.

Amsterdam and London became the centers of the commerce of the world, and in thoſe two cities were found citizens whoſe fortunes were equal to thoſes of monarchs. Greſham an Engliſh merchant lent his ſovereign two hundred thouſand pounds; he built at his own expence the exchange of London, that was looked upon as one of the wonders of the world; he repaired two conſiderable churches, rebuilt part of the city-walls and founded five hoſpitals.

MECHANIC ARTS.

The mechanic arts had a ſimilar fate. They had flouriſhed for three centuries in Flanders, particularly at Mechlin, Ghent and Antwerp, which they made the richeſt cities of our hemiſphere. They fled at the approach of the duke of Alba and the tribunal of the inquiſition; they retreated to England in ſeach of a milder government, to France under the protection of a hero, and to Holland for the ineſtimable liberty of enjoying their opinions.

PHYSIC.

PHYSIC received no diſtinguiſhed improvements in the preſent diviſion; it exhibits nothing new, but if it made no progreſs, it did not at leaſt degenerate. Men of merit ſo far ſupported it that it loſt nothing of what it had acquired; among others Camerarius, the German, gained reputation; his ſolid remarks explained the acquiſitions of the preceding age in a new light, and facilitated the important diſcoveries that were made in the next.

MATHEMATICS.

THE mathematics made a viſible progreſs; they were chiefly indebted for their improvement to Viette a French-man. He was the greateſt man of his time in the ſcience of calculation, and invented two new methods. He improved Algebra by ſubſtituting the letters of the alphabet in the room of numerical figures for deſcribing unknown quantities. He firſt conceived the idea of applying algebra to geometry, by reducing the lines and angles of the latter to the ſigns of the former. By the firſt of thoſe innovations he carried the analyſis far beyond whatever it had been before; by the other he made geometry more eaſy and expeditious and better adapted to complex calculations.

ASTRONOMY.

GERMANY was in poſſeſſion of aſtronomy; one of her ſovereigns was at the head of thoſe who cultivated that ſcience. William Land-

grave of Heſſe, not only loved and protected it, and heaped favours on thoſe who devoted their attention to the ſame object, but applied to it himſelf with equal ardour and ſucceſs. He built an obſervatory at Caſſel, where he made obſervations with indefatigable zeal and patience, and drew up a liſt of the fixed ſtars.

Justeburg ſeconded the labours of his maſter with new inſtruments more accurate and exact than thoſe before in uſe; Rothman was no leſs uſeful to him by his calculations which he had brought to a new degree of perfection. The Italian Zabarella, Jonas of Ireland and Longomontanus the Dane diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the ſame ſcience; but how great ſoever the merit of thoſe learned men, and whatever improvements aſtronomy might have derived from their labours, they were all eclipſed by the famous Ticho. This great man who did more honour to the ancient family of Brahe, from whom he was deſcended, than the heroes they produced, made Copenhagen illuſtrious by his ſtudies and diſcoveries.

We are not to judge of this excellent aſtronomer by his ſyſtem, which, though very ingenious indeed, was no way comparable to that of Copernicus; our gratitude ſhould be proportioned to the number of phenomenons he diſcovered, to the long ſeries of diſcoveries collected in the courſe of thirty years application; to his theory of the moon, the irregularities and inclination of which he calculated and perceived; to the comets whoſe motion and progreſs he obſerved, and whoſe nature he conjectured; to his demonſtration

monſtration of the fluidity of the heavens, that were till then looked upon as ſolid by all the ſchools. Frederic II aſtoniſhed at his genius was a long time his protector and friend, he built an obſervatory at Uranibourg for him, a place ſince become famours in the hiſtory of ſciences by the ſtudies of that illuſtrious Dane. The ſovereigns afterwards, as is generally the caſe, were diſguſted with him, and the immortal aſtronomer died an exile at Prague.

A PHENOMENON was accidentally diſcovered about this time that ſoon became the ſource of the greateſt ſucceſs; as the children of an artiſt in Holland were playing with ſome ſpectacle-glaſſes, they happened to fix two of them at the extremities of a tube; they were ſurpriſed in looking through to perceive objects apparently nearer and magnified; their exclamations attracted the notice of their father, he made reflections on this ſpecies of prodigy and communicated his ideas to ſome friends, who aſſiſted him in forming the firſt teleſcope. This inſtrument at firſt aukward and unfiniſhed, having been perfectly improved ſome time after by a great man, filled up, in ſome ſort, the infinite ſpace that nature had placed between mankind and the celeſtial bodies, and threw aſide the veil that ſeemed to cover them from mortal eyes.

OPTICS.

OPTICS ſo much cultivated by the ancients, had periſhed with literature under the ſword of barbariſm and did not revive with it. Maurolicus,

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reſtored them to life by his treatiſe on light and ſhade, in which he gave the firſt judicious explanation then known of viſion. John de Porta elucidated his ideas, and approached near to a perfect knowlege of the manner by which the eye diſcerns objects. At the ſame time Antonio de Dominis made one of the moſt important diſcoveries in that ſcience, by his very ingenious and equally juſt theory of the phenomenon of the rain-bow. This was the famous Dominis who at different periods became a jeſuit in Italy, an archbiſhop in Dalmatia, a proteſtant miniſter in England, and having afterwards returned to Rome to abjure his errors, obtained abſolution and loſt his liberty. He died in the priſon of the inquiſition, and after being buried as a catholic, his body was diſinterred and burned for hereſy.

The ſcience of perſpective revived with optics of which it forms a branch. The theory of mechanics, that had remained unknown for ten centuries, was recovered at the ſame time. The re-eſtabliſhment of this was owing to Ubaldi, who gave the firſt ſolid precepts with regard to that object.

Thus ſome branches of natural philoſophy emerged from darkneſs, and flattered mankind with the hopes of ſeeing that glorious ſcience revived; it continued to be disfigured by the Peripatetics who ſupported the phantom of their own creation with the arms of ſuperſtition.

But notwithſtanding all their efforts and the perſecutions they raiſed againſt thoſe who ventured to think, truth gained ground under the guidance

guidance of a philoſophic ſpirit; this began to appear in all orders of ſociety. The chancellor de l'Hopital, made it prevail in the ſanctuary of juſtice; Philip Sidney inſpired a taſte for it at the court of Elizabeth; Ramus, a profeſſor at Paris, endeavoured to introduce it into the univerſities; that philoſopher ſtruggled with indefatigable zeal againſt the prejudices of the times; his talents, his labours, his credit and authority were all exerted to divert his countrymen from their puerile diſputes concerning Ariſtotle; in his writings and diſcourſes he inceſſantly urged them to conſult their own reaſon and aſſume the courage to think for themſelves. From a perſuaſion that the elements of mathematics would be the beſt guide to lead men to truth, he had the generoſity to eſtabliſh a chair for teaching that ſcience, in which he nearly exhauſted his whole fortune. In return for this generous behaviour, Govea the Portugueze accuſed him of hereſy, and Ramus was expelled from a body that his merit adorned. By the protection of the parliament he recovered the privilege of teaching, but he was ſoon expoſed to freſh hoſtilities. At length, after having been all his life the victim of his love of truth, he was maſſacred on St. Bartholomew's day, being looked upon as a calvaniſt, probably becauſe he exhorted mankind to think.

Bodin did honour to Angers his native place by his book on government, in which he explains the principles of ſocieties, and points out the reſpective rights of ſovereigns and their ſubjects. This work was but a ſketch, but it was the

the firſt of the kind; and in the midſt of thoſe clouds with which the prejudices of the times had overſpread his eſſays, ſome bright rays ſhoot forth to evince the excellence of his underſtanding. Bodin had the pleaſure to ſee his principles publicly taught at the univerſity of Oxford; but he paid dearly for that honour; calumny poiſoned all his lays, attacked his aſhes with virulence and ſtill endeavours to blaſt his memory with her venomous breath.

MORALITY was revived in the world by two philoſophers. Charon and Montagne, the Socrateſes of the age, reſtored that ſublime ſcience to mankind. Charon in his book on wiſdom, has ſupported the ſcience by principles of bold metaphyſics; Montagne in his eſſays has painted mankind with the greateſt ſimplicity; his work will be ever dear to readers of taſte and reflection. Thoſe philoſophers were attacked, perſecuted and calumniated, the inevitable fate of every exalted genius, who aims at the dangerous heroiſm of reſcuing mankind from ignorance and error.

HISTORY.

THERE are few epochas of France, the particulars of which are better known than this. The contemporary memoirs of Moun-Luc are curious, notwithſtanding the barbarity of the ſtyle; thoſe of Brantome are very valuable on account of their ſimplicity. The letters of Sully are intereſting and diſplay great political knowlege and comprehenſive deſigns; in Menippæus and the catholicon, the ſatyrical productions of Pithou

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and le Roi, the vices and ridiculous behaviour of the fanatics who attacked the throne are painted with great ſpirit. Davila the Italian, who was an eye-witneſs to the misfortunes of France, has left a valuable deſcription of them in his own language: but the moſt precious monument we have remaining of the events of this age is the hiſtory of James de Thou, a work comparable to the moſt finiſhed pieces of antiquity, in which judgment, regularity, love of truth, and elegance of diction are fully diſplayed. His country regrets that ſo great a man made uſe of a dead language; philoſophy reproaches him with having believed or related ſeriouſly predictions, omens and prodigies contrary to his own opinion. Paſquier du Tillet, and Papyrus Maſon, have thrown light on the annals of the monarchy by their reſearches with reſpect to its antiquities; Scevola de Sainte-Marthe in his panegyric has preſerved the names of the great men who adorned his country. Du Haillan, who undertook a general hiſtory of the nation, ſhewed great critical knowlege and a courage againſt prejudice, without which a hiſtory is far inferior to a romance.

In Spain, Surita wrote the hiſtory of Arragon, and Herrera that of India affairs. Portugal has few pieces equal to the life of the great Emanuel by Oſorius; Sambuc the Hungarian publiſhed the beſt hiſtory of his country that was known in his days. Olaus the Swede, is a neceſſary guide in ſtudying the hiſtory of the ancient people of the North. Dempſter elucidated the eccleſiaſtical

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hiſtory of Scotland, a ſubject the more intereſting from the near relation it has to the manners of the people.

ENGLAND admired Camden, whom ſhe ſtyled her Cicero and Pauſanias. He was chiefly extolled for his Britannia and life of Elizabeth. But in reading the former we ſhould carefully guard againſt the prejudice of the author with reſpect to Ireland; it is evident that he had little knowlege of the inhabitants of that country, but what he derived from the fabulous accounts of their enemies. In examining the life of Elizabeth there is reaſon to be diffident of the writer, whoſe private intereſt made him rather a panegyriſt than an impartial hiſtorian.

ONUPHRUS continued the lives of the popes begun by Platina; it is eaſy to conceive what degree of credit is to be given to a writer penſioned by the pope, and to a work dedicated to the ſevere Pius V. The annals of Baronius are uſeful, notwithſtanding they are diſfigured by a multitude of faults, and intereſting under the diſadvantage of a harſh and uncouth ſtyle. Turcelin gave a view of univerſal hiſtory, but the merit of the colouring is no excuſe for the partiality that guided his pencil. Who can behold without indignation that elegant writer repreſenting the maſſacre of the proteſtants as an affair that ſhould be pleaſing to all Chriſtendom. Pancirolus in fine elucidated one of the moſt important parts of ancient and modern hiſtory in his book of things loſt and recovered; in this ingenious work he collected the inventions of the ancients

ancients of which time had deprived us and ſuch modern diſcoveries as were unknown to antiquity.

DEAD LANGUAGES.

THE Latin tongue was more cultivated than ever. Numbers of commentators, interpreters, and paraphraſe writers appeared. Caſaubon, Juſtus Lipſius and Joſeph Scaliger were ſtyled the triumvirate of the republic of learning, and they in fact merited the title by their painful reſearches and uſeful labours. Caſaubon was the beſt Greek ſcholar of the age. He wrote in Latin with great purity, and with thoſe talents poſſeſſed a ſweetneſs of manners and modeſty that made him univerſally beloved.

JUSTUS LIPSIUS was perhaps the ableſt commentator that appeared after the revival of letters; he had a profound knowlege of the laws, manners and ancient cuſtoms; he has been reproached for his harſh and affected ſtyle, but he deſerved much ſeverer cenſure for the barbarous work he publiſhed in favour of perſecution.

JOSEPH SCALIGER was not only a man of conſummate learning, but no perſon before him was better acquainted with chronology or more clearly explained that ſubject; he leſſened the merit of his labours by his preſumption in attempting ſubjects for which he was no way calculated; his exceſſive vanity expoſed him to ridicule, and his violence againſt his adverſaries made him odious. He was however moderate in compariſon to his enemy Scioppius; this famous ſatyriſt employed much

much wit and learning to gain the hatred of his contemporaries; he laſhed them with the utmoſt ſeverity without reſpect to virtue or rank. Repeated puniſhment did not reform him; he wandered about from place to place, lived poor, and at laſt died an object of deteſtation to all Europe.

Bodley immortaliſed his memory by the famous library he bequeathed to the univerſity of Oxford. Genebrard enriched France with the firſt tranſlation of Joſephus. Danet gained admiration at Trent by his ſuperior eloquence; Amyot merited laſting fame by his tranſlations of Plutarch and Longinus. The name of Robert Etienne ſhould not paſs unnoticed; that printer held a place among the learned, and his excellent editions contributed to the improvement of Greek and Latin learning.

Thoſe two branches of literature were enriched by many works of taſte. Muret of Limoges conſoled the learned for the loſs of Eraſmus, he had not the art of thinking like the philoſopher of Rotterdam, but he wrote with equal elegance; his orations are barren as to matter, and deſtitute of fire, but they are the pureſt Latin. He was perſecuted in France and obliged to fly, but the honours confered on him by Italy conſoled him in ſome meaſure for the ingratitude of his countrymen. Scevola de Sainte Marthe ſucceeded equally in proſe and verſe. The epigrams of Paſſerat, ſome of which are ingenious, and his book concerning the affinity between the ſeveral branches of literature, made him be reſpected as one of the moſt elegant writers of the age. The

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ſublime verſes of Bourbon, that adorn the gate of the citadel of Paris, and his imprecations againſt the murderer of Henry IV, are ſufficiently known.

Beza the celebrated divine juſtly merits a place here; the poems of his youth are not inferior to the moſt delicate pieces of that century. All thoſe authors were Frenchmen, and it would not be difficult to ſwell the liſt. Owen the Engliſhman, diſtinguiſhed himſelf by a collection of epigrams. The Italian Faern publiſhed ſome fables in ſuch elegant Latin, that it was conjectured he had ſeen the manuſcript of Phedrus, which was found ſome years after by Pithou the lawyer.

The poem on the immortality of the ſoul does honour to the memory of Palearius; he was a man of the brighteſt genius of the age and adorned with uncommon parts and knowlege, but falling a victim to envy that his merit inſpired, he was perſecuted through every ſtage of life; and on a frivolous ſuſpicion of hereſy, ſuperſtition at laſt condemned him to the flames.

Buchanan of Scotland, eclipſed the glory of all the Latin poets of the age. A copious, elevated and bold imagination, a fertility of fancy, brilliancy of expreſſion, ſtrength and harmony of verſification, all contributed to gain him admiration. His paraphraſes on the pſalms, which are ſuperior to every attempt of the kind, have all the elevation and fire of the ſacred writer; his poem on the ſphere is full of ſublime beauties, even in thoſe particulars that are moſt difficult to be expreſſed; he has idylls worthy of Tibullus,

and ſome of his odes are comparable to the beſt of Horace. He wrote the hiſtory of his own country, and his proſe is equal to the beauty of his verſe; but while we applaud his ſtyle, we have reaſon to cenſure the infidelity of the hiſtorian. This celebrated Scotchman went to France at a very early period of life, was educated there, and, after teaching at Paris, viſited Portugal, where he was impriſoned by the inquiſition. Having eſcaped from this dangerous ſituation, he returned to his native country: Mary Stuart was then on the throne, and heaped favours and honours on him. As long as fortune ſmiled on that queen he was laviſh in his praiſes of her character, but when the ſtorms of adverſity gathered round her, he beſtowed cenſures on her with equal virulence and baſeneſs.

LIVING LANGUAGES.

What we have related above, ſhews the ſuperiority of France in thoſe times with reſpect to the learned languages; ſhe was far from poſſeſſing the ſame advantage in regard to her own. It is matter of ſurprize to behold ſo great riches on one ſide and ſuch poverty on the other. This ſterility was not owing to the idiom itſelf, it was more copious and energic, leſs embarraſſed with ſuperfluous terms, more bold in its turns and more fertile in inverſions than it has been in its moſt glorious days, but it was quite deſtitute of cultivation.

Men of genius took a pride in writing in the language of ancient Rome; the ſciences and literature

terature made uſe of no other organ. Hence aroſe that falſe taſte which prevailed in the language of the country, the prolix and laboured ſtyle, the rage of continually quoting the authors of antiquity, quotations that were either foreign to the ſubject or injurious to perſpicuity; hence alſo proceeds the diſſatisfaction of many readers with reſpect even to Montagne, they are diſguſted with the learned digreſſions that every where abound in his eſſays, and at length grow weary of ſeeking for his beauties. If a writer of ſuch exalted capacity was unable to avoid the reigning depravity of taſte, how much muſt it have prevailed in the writings of authors greatly inferior? The orations we have remaining of Arnaud and Paſquier were looked upon in their times as maſter-pieces of eloquence, and are in fact replete with erudition, argument and even wit, but they are very far from being models. They are entirely deſtitute of taſte, and this deficiency makes them rather appear as college-declamations than orations worthy of being pronounced before the firſt ſenate of the nation. In ſhort, if we except a few ingenious ſatires, the tranſlations of Amyot and two or three fables, French proſe had in thoſe days nothing that merited notice.

Poetry was one of the paſſions of the court of Valois. Under this auguſt protection a multitude of verſifiers appeared, poetical compoſitions of every ſpecies were attempted, but in general with little ſucceſs. The famous ſtanzas of Pybrac, that were a long time admired as ſo

many oracles are now entirely unnoticed: that celebrated preſident acquired a reputation for his wiſdom among the people, but he forfeited the character with every perſon of liberal ſentiments by his apology for the maſſacre of St. Bartholomew. Lingendes made himſelf known by his ſongs; ſome of them are ſtill noticed; the ſtanzas of Bertaud had ſome ſucceſs; Belleau was admired for his paſtorals that are no longer read; but in this ſpecies of writing the French have never ſucceeded.

Desportes diſtinguiſhed himſelf by light pieces of poetry; he was the beſt verſifier of the age, and firſt cleared the language of thoſe quotations with which it was continually larded. Jodelle and Garnier attempted to revive the ſpirit of Greek-tragedy, but their compoſitions had neither the dignity or elegance of the ancient writers. Ronſard compoſed ſonnets, odes, eclogues, and ſoared even to the epic kind. The greateſt honours were conferred upon him, and he was ſcarce known by any other name but that of prince of poets. Sovereigns thought it a happineſs to be celebrated by him; Mary Stuart ſung his merit, ſtyled him her Apollo and made him conſiderable preſents. Charles IX wrote verſes in his praiſe, and they are ſome of the beſt that were compoſed during his reign. He was interred with the greateſt pomp and ceremony, and the famous du Perron pronounced his funeral oration. From the general prejudice in favour of this writer, we might conclude he had merit. He had indeed learning and invention, but want of harmony,

harmony, obſcurity of expreſſion, an injudicious choice of images and the itch of diſplaying erudition on the moſt improper ſubjects, all conſpired to prove the impotency of nature when it is not ſeconded by art.

REGNIER, who appeared in the reign of Henry IV, had real ſucceſs in ſatyre: through harſhneſs of meaſure, obſcene images and vulgar expreſſions, the true ſpirit of that ſpecies of writing and ſparks of genius may be diſcovered. Malherbe at length aroſe and produced a revolution in French poetry; guided by the ſtudy of the ancients and ſtill more by his own reflections, he felt the neceſſity of thinking juſtly in verſe as well as proſe. He endeavoured to adapt his ideas to the ſimple order of nature, ſelected his images with great care, and ſtudied to dreſs his thoughts with elegance and propriety. He diſtinguiſhed true harmony, and was ſenſible that it conſiſted much leſs in rime, than in the happy aſſemblage of ſyllables, in the art of managing the cadences and in the ſtyle ſuitable to the object that is to be repreſented. A total change was thus affected by the genius of one man; France ſaw real odes ſhoot forth and had reaſon to expect thoſe maſter-pieces with which ſhe was ſoon after enriched.

A SIMILAR paſſion for the dead languages retarded the improvement of the Engliſh: two excellent poets however appeared. Spencer attempted idylls with ſucceſs; brilliant images, delicate thoughts and great harmony will make that poet for ever dear to his countrymen. Shakeſpear created a theatre and diſplayed prodigies.

digies. This poet, who was born in obſcurity, deſtitute of education, and for ſome time the companion of robbers, felt himſelf ſuddenly inſpired and compoſed tragedies. They are tinctured with the vulgarity of his condition and manners, and are deficient as to plan, order and taſte, but with all thoſe imperfections, they are the delight of the Engliſh, who prefer them to more regular productions. Irregular indeed as thoſe tragedies are, they are ſtamped with evident marks of ſuperior genius: they abound with ſublime ſcenes, and with all his faults Shakeſpear never fails of ſucceſs. He ſhakes every feeling in the human breaſt, he agitates and aſtoniſhes, he melts into compaſſion and raiſes ſentiments of horror, and takes ſuch entire poſſeſſion of the heart that he forces it to yield to every impreſſion he deſires and to every paſſion he wiſhes to inſpire.

This was the golden age of Caſtilian poetry. The Spaniards; more ſenſible than their neighbours, read with attention, ſtudied and tranſlated the Greek and Latin writers, but they rarely compoſed in their languages. They conceived the imprudence of devoting their talents to foreign idioms, already ſufficiently enriched, and of which a complete knowlege is ſeldom acquired. They looked upon the writings of the ancients as we view the ruins of their temples; they made uſe of them in forming their taſte and raiſing their ideas; Eſpinoſa and Count Rebolledo publiſhed idylls worthy of Theocritus: Quevedo immortaliſed his name by his Bucolics on the Tagus;

Tagus; Ulloa and Chriſtoval employed their pens in ſatyres; there are few more pleaſing than that of the latter againſt amorous verſes. Herrera, who was honoured with the epithet of divine by his countrymen, the two Argenſolas looked upon as the rivals of Horace, and Lewis of Leon, whoſe mind was enriched with every branch of uſeful knowlege, wrote odes ſome of which are not inferior to their model. Villega was admired by his cotemporaries for dignity and eaſe in his writings: he devoted himſelf to the manner of Anacreon, and ſhone in that caſt in which ſo few have ſucceeded. Lopez de Rueda, was the real founder of the Spaniſh theatre: before he appeared his country had ſome comedies of merit, but their extravagant length made them unfit for repreſentation, they were rather romances in dialogues than real dramas. Rueda attempted comedies after the manner of the ancients; he did not reach perfection, but made great progreſs, Naharro doubly improved his deſign. Inſtead of thoſe aukward benches on which his predeceſſor repreſented in perſon the pieces he had compoſed, Naharro erected a real theatre and enriched it with machinery. This revolution reſcued comedy from the contempt into which it had fallen, and writers laboured with emulation to improve it.

Christoval exhibited pieces in which wit and humour were united with regularity; La Cueva, with greater art in his compoſitions and more harmony in the verſes, raiſed the comic ſcene to the higheſt degree of perfection it has

attained in Spain. The ſame poet endeavoured to reform tragedy, and his attempts were not entirely unſucceſsful, the Spaniards however cannot boaſt of their ſuperiority in this branch; their comedies are equal to thoſe of any other people, excepting the maſter-pieces of Moliere; but their tragedies though replete with ſentiment and pathos are deficient in ſpirit and fire, want regularity ſtill more, and ſeldom riſe above mediocrity; this is a literary phenomenon, and the more ſingular as the dignity of the idiom and the lofty character of the nation ſeem to conſpire in favour of this ſpecies of compoſition.

In the heat of thoſe great events in which the Spaniſh nation had ſo large a ſhare, epic poetry could not be forgot; ſeveral poets attempted it, but one only deſerved to be diſtinguiſhed. Alonzo d'Erzilla, a ſoldier and mariner, prompted by inclination as well as obliged by the duties of his ſtation, made long and frequent voyages. In one of thoſe he arrived on the borders of Chili, where he found ſavages who ventured to brave European arts and defend their liberty with courage. Alonzo experienced many dangers, was eye-witneſs to the principal events of the war, and ſhared in the victory that followed. In the moments of leiſure he enjoyed from the tumult of arms, his heated imagination was amuſed in ſinging and deſcribing what he had ſeen. In this manner the poem of the Araucana was formed; a piece deſtitute of plan, taſte or judgment, but in many parts of which a lively imagination with great ſtrength and energy are conſpicuous.

The Portugueze, though inferior to the Caſtilians in all other parts of compoſition, ſurpaſſed them in epic poetry. Le Camoens endeavoured like Alonzo to celebrate the remarkable events of his voyage; but he ſoared far above the Spaniſh poet. There are egregious faults in the Luſiad. The ridiculous mixture of heathen divinities with chriſtian ſaints form a whole diſguſting to every reader of taſte. The plan likewiſe is in general defective, or more properly ſpeaking there is no plan. The piece is in ſome ſort nothing more than a narrative of a voyage round Africa, embelliſhed with poetic fictions; but in particular parts what beauty, ſtrength and harmony appear! The ſpeeches Camoens puts into the mouths of his heroes are equal to the beſt in Homer. His deſcriptions are ſublime and his images full of dignity and truth. The Luſiad is not to be ranked with poems of the firſt claſs, but it is ſuperior to all the reſt. Though he did ſo much honour to his country, and Portugal ſtill boaſts of his performance, this writer however lived in miſery and died of vexation and fatigue.

The Italian language poſſeſſed a writer who far out-ſtripped all his contemporaries in heroic poetry. A ſubject hapily choſen, richneſs of arrangement, the art of placing perſonages advantageouſly together, characters juſtly drawn and well ſupported, the talent of introducing heroes with dignity, and on proper and intereſting occaſions only; affecting events, brilliant deſcriptions, inchanting fictions, ſtriking images, an animated ſtyle with harmonious and eaſy verſification

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tion are what Italy admires in Jeruſalem delivered. The poem may be cenſured for a redundance of epiſodes, a too frequent uſe of magic, ſome thoughts more dazling than juſt, and too great a monotony in the metre; but thoſe imperfections exagerated by critics, who had doubtleſs read the Jeruſalem but ſuperficially, or wanted a proper taſte to reliſh its beauties, do not exclude that piece from a compariſon with the Iliad and Eneid. Taſſo is indeed leſs ſublime and leſs natural, but at the ſame time, leſs unequal than Homer. He is not ſo vigorous, ſo rapid, ſo warm, ſo great a philoſopher or painter as Virgil, but he is ſuperior in the art of delineating characters, and more intereſting than both, he will be leſs admired, and perhaps more read than either.

It was not in epic poetry alone that he excelled; his Armintas, is a maſter-piece, in the paſtoral kind, and more finiſhed than the Jeruſalem. This great man was of noble extraction, lived poor, had the misfortune to want and receive protection, experienced the mortification to loſe it, languiſhed a part of his life in priſon, enjoyed a ray of glory, had a few unprofitable admirers, and was envied by numbers who perſecuted and oppreſſed him. Clement VIII, was preparing to do juſtice to his merit; he invited him to Rome, in order to beſtow the poetic crown on him in a public manner; he was reſolved that the ceremony ſhould be attended with every mark of honour that could flatter genius; and intended to reward him with more ſubſtantial favours. But Taſſo ſuddenly expired the day previous

previous to that which was to raiſe him to fortune and glory.

Annibal Caro, at the ſame time gave the beſt tranſlations of Virgil and Lucretius. Taſſillon imitated Petrarch in ſonnets that Petrarch might have envied. Murtola raiſed his reputation by cantos on the creation of the world. Marini began to acquire fame by his poems, in which ſubtility of thought and the ſtriking ſingularity of his turns were admired. His country was delighted and applauded thoſe talents calculated to dazzle; but the judicious few regretted to ſee that writer leading their countrymen in purſuit of ſuperficial beauties; and, in the praiſes laviſhed upon him, perceived ſymptoms of a declining taſte.

FINE ARTS.

Italy ſtill continued the parent of fine arts. The famous Palladio decorated Vicenza with maſter-pieces of architecture; he built a theatre there that was admired by all Europe, and afterwards became the model of all others.

Sculpture flouriſhed, but painting was viſibly declined in Florence; perhaps the frequent uſe of the chiſſel was injurious to the great effects which the pencil demands.

Rome ſtill poſſeſſed great artiſts. Barrochi, Vannius, the Zucarroes, Michael Carravagi, Joſepini, and Mutian ſhewed themſelves the worthy ſucceſſors of preceding painters. We muſt however acknowlege that the Roman ſchool began to degenerate. Perhaps the juſt admiration

tion in which Raphael was held contributed to reſtrain artiſts within the narrow bounds of imitation; this might have checked the efforts of genius which never can produce maſter-pieces unleſs it is at liberty to indulge the flights of imagination.

The Venetian ſchool was more flouriſhing than ever. Titian ſtill ſurvived and preſerved the graces of his pencil to the laſt ſtage of life. The age of Tintoret had not extinguiſhed the fire of imagination that is ſo pleaſing in his pieces; the Palmas were formed by the leſſons of thoſe two maſters, and their induſtry was animated by a view of their amaſing performances. Baſſano transferred to the canvas all the charms of rural life; the magic of his colours ſeemed to agitate the leaf and give life to the brute creation. Paul Veroneſe diſplayed fertility of invention, richneſs of arrangement, grace and beauty of attitude, magnificence in his draperies, luſtre, ſoftneſs, and truth in his colouring, that, notwithſtanding his deficiency as to *Coutume*, make his maſter-pieces ineſtimable.

The ſchool of Lombardy roſe to perfection. The three Carrachies, from a perſuaſion that genius, when entirely abandoned to itſelf, muſt inevitably fall into errors, were reſolved to regulate its efforts by a judicious theory. They felt the neceſſity of giving lectures and inſtructing artiſts in thoſe branches of knowlege the want of which had deſtroyed the merit of many pieces. Hiſtory, mythology, the manners and cuſtoms of different ages and nations, poetry, geo-

geometry, anatomy and perſpective, were ſciences neceſſarily connected with their art; they mutually divided the care of teaching thoſe ſciences, and eſtabliſhed public conferences on that plan. They were not content with inſtructing their hearers by precepts, but being excellent painters themſelves, united practice with theory and executed what they taught. They made the moſt rapid progreſs and improvement. The moſt illuſtrious pupils were formed by thoſe great maſters. From their ſchool proceeded Albano the painter of the loves and the graces; Dominiquin an artiſt who thoroughly underſtood his ſubject; he was noble in the arrangement, correct in the deſign, ſublime in the expreſſion and wanted only the merit of colouring to triumph in the art; Guerchini, whoſe enthuſiaſm ſupported by the moſt inchanting graces, excuſes in ſome ſort the want of correctneſs, and, in fine, Guido, ſo juſt in his proportions, ſo admirable in his carnations, ſo pleaſing in his attitudes, ſo noble, ſo affecting and graceful in his conceptions; he was the firſt artiſt of the age, and will admit of a compariſon with the greateſt painters of every period.

The Flemiſh ſchool ſtill remained much inferior to thoſe of Italy; it had however emerged from mediocrity; Brugel was already known for his beautiful landſcapes, Dubois ſucceeded in terrible ſubjects; Vos painted hiſtory with ſucceſs; Mabuſe taught his countrymen the method of properly expreſſing naked figures; Moro excelled in portraits, Ælſheimer repreſented

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the effects of night with great truth; Voenius Otho was formed at Rome and thence carried back to his country the ſecrets of light and ſhade, and the art of blending colours, which gave a new form to the ſchool of Antwerp and prepared its glory by forming Rubens.

ENGRAVING was cultivated in all thoſe ſchools and enriched with maſter-pieces by the talents of Villamene, Sadler and Corneille Cort.

FRANCE had no painters of merit, but ſhe poſſeſſed an excellent ſculptor. Germain Pilon, without ever quitting his country, roſe to perfection by the ſole efforts of genius. His three graces are maſter-pieces that might have raiſed envy in the greateſt artiſts of Florence. His funeral columns ſacred to the memory of Henry II and his favourite, the groups placed round them, and the ingenious and new emblems with which they are ornamented, diſplayed a fertile and bold imagination, ſuperior to the merit of managing the chiſſel and capable of ſoaring far beyond a ſervile imitation.

ARCHITECTURE was likewiſe cultivated with ſucceſs by ſome French artiſts. Lewis de Foix conſtructed the tower of Bourdeaux, and built the Eſcurial in Spain, a magnificent and ſingular monument of the misfortunes of France. Philibert de Lorme adorned Paris with regular edifices, embelliſhed Fontainbleau, built Meudon, finiſhed the Louvre and began the Thuilleries.

JUSTICE is due even to tyrants; Catherine of Medicis merited gratitude from the arts. Having

ing been educated in the midſt of them, and imbibed the taſte natural to her family, ſhe cheriſhed and improved the emulation Francis I had kindled in France. All her family ſhared with that queen in her attachment to them; her ſons loved and cultivated learning; her daughter Margaret leſſened the ſhame of a licentious life by the merit of protecting it. Mary Stuart was miſtreſs of the Greek and Latin, wrote well both in proſe and verſe, and was the friend of every artiſt and all the learned. The Belles-Letters had adorned her proſperous days, they helped to conſole her in her misfortunes; with them ſhe mitigated the horrors of her long captivity, and ſoothed her painful reflections; it was from her priſon that ſhe ſpread flowers over the tomb of the virtuous Sidney.

Her haughty rival was no leſs jealous of ſhining by her literary accompliſhments than of diſtinguiſhing herſelf by her capacity in the art of government. After giving orders in the council to humble Philip, aſſiſt Henry and protect Holland, ſhe retired to her cloſet to recreate her ſpirits after the fatigues of the crown and enjoy the pleaſure of thinking. She there improved her underſtanding with Cicero, acquired taſte with Virgil, meditated with Seneca and learned philoſophy with Boetius.

Frederic II, deſcended from his throne to viſit Uranibourg and make obſervations with Tycho. Sixtus V, Clement VIII, and all the great popes of this century looked upon it as a duty to encourage every thing that tended to elevate

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and adorn genius. The haughty Paul V treated Guido with a degree of veneration; being informed that artiſt had quitted Rome with a deſign never to reviſit that city, he diſpatched meſſengers after him to conjure him to return, and the compliance of the painter was a matter of triumph to the court of Rome and the whole city.

The ſevere Philip the II forgot his gravity with Moro, in whom he excuſed freedoms that would have been fatal to any orher perſon. The duke of Parma laid aſide his laurels in the ſchools of the Flemiſh artiſts, and converſed with them on the ſecrets and merits of painting. Henry, who was far ſuperior to them all, loved and cheriſhed all human ſciences and learning; in the warmth of enthuſiaſm, which his paſſion for them inſpired, he declared that he would give up one of his beſt cities for the pleaſure of finding the books of Livy that are miſſing. He lamented that his ſituation of life, in obliging him to be continually under arms, had left him no time for ſtudy; and uſed to ſay that, if he had been at liberty to chuſe, he would have preferred the pleaſure of improviug his mind to the glory of conqueſt. He was much better pleaſed with the part of Mecenas in company with Virgil and Horace whoſe poetic labours he encouraged, than with all the ſplendour of Auguſtus ſubjecting Rome and commanding the world.

EIGHTH EPOCHA

CONTINUED,

THIRD DIVISION.

LEWIS XIII.

From the year 1610 to 1648 of Chriſt.

THE death of Henry the IV held mankind in ſuſpence, and filled them with ſentiments relative to their hopes or fears. The Houſe of Auſtria, ſecretly exulted at a ſtroke that delivered them from their moſt formidable adverſary; their enemies trembled at an event that robbed them of a powerful protector.

SPAIN, notwithſtanding her loſſes in the Low Countries, was ſtill the ſuperior power. The recent acquiſition of Portugal and the rich apendages of that crown ſeemed even to give her a greater degree of ſtrength than ſhe poſſeſſed at the acceſſion of Philip II; ſhe was, however, much weaker. Her various colonies had abſorbed the principal ſtrength of the ſtate, and the mul-

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tiplicity of her members had exhauſted the body. Millions of Spaniards periſhed in different voyages; ſome were ſwallowed up in the waves, others fell victims to ſtrange climates, one part was ſuffocated in the mines, many were deſtroyed by the deſpair of the ſavages, but the far greater number was loſt by their own diviſions. The projects of Philip II againſt Holland, France and England had exhauſted his treaſury and ſerved only to enrich the countries he attempted to oppreſs. Hence proceeded that indigence which affected every part of the government, and reduced the ſovereign of Mexico and Peru to the incapacity of paying his troops. The various provinces ſubject to the ſame throne embarraſſed rather than aſſiſted it; moſt of them were diſcontented, and waited only for an opportunity to ſhake of the yoke.

The Portugueze, beſides their natural hatred to the Spaniards, had the mortification to find tyrants in their maſters; the Catalonians complained of the oppreſſive burthen of the taxes; the people of Arragon lamented the violation of their privileges; Flanders ſhuddered at the mention of the inquiſition, Naples was full of ſeditious citizens, and Sicily with a fickle and inconſtant people. A machine of ſuch complicated parts required a prince of a great ſoul or a miniſter of exalted genius. Philip and the duke of Lerma had but trifling virtues without one talent, and were rather calculated to increaſe thoſe great difficulties.

THE younger branch of the Houſe of Auſtria ſtill held the imperial ſcepter; but Rodolphus II enjoyed only the ſhadow of authority; his brother Mathias taking advantage of his moderation had obliged him to give up Auſtria and Hungary, and was preparing to ſtrip him of Bohemia. The ambitious Mathias was ſupported by Ferdinand of Auſtria a relation of the two brothers, who under the title of archeduke of Gratz, reigned over Stiria and Carniol. The activity and ardour of Mathias, with his inſatiable thirſt for dominion, greatly alarmed the fears of the Germanic body, who had lately nominated him their chief by declaring him king of the Romans.

THE Germanic body continued divided by religion in two principal parties: though they no longer carried on open war, they attacked each other with mutual inſults and menaces, and in the ſucceſſion of Juliers had lately found an occaſion of diſplaying their reciprocal hatred. The catholics united with the head of the empire imprudently preſented their hands to the chains that were forging; beſides the three eccleſiaſtic electors, they had on their ſide Maximilian of Bavaria, whoſe eminent qualities gave additional weight to the authority he enjoyed in the poſſeſſion of a rich province.

THE proteſtants were divided in two ſects, both powerful, but too much at variance to be perfectly united in one deſign; the lutherans acknowleged Chriſtian of Saxony for their leader; this prince had talents, but he was timid and irreſolute; the dukes of Meclenbourg, Pomerania

and Brunſwick with moſt of the imperial cities were alſo in their intereſt.

FREDERIC, palatin of the Rhine, conſidered as the chief of the calviniſts, was ſeconded by the elector of Brandenbourg, the duke of Neubourg and Landgrave of Heſſe: thoſe were cloſely united, and endeavoured to cement their alliance more firmly by a treaty which they dignified with the title of evangelic union. Thoſe two ſects jealous of their civil and religious liberties were continually on their guard againſt the court of Vienna, attached themſelves to the powers of the North, and placed all their hopes in France.

FRANCE was looked upon as the fureſt bulwark of Europe againſt the ambition of the family who endeavoured to enſlave her. The wiſdom of Henry had lately obliged thoſe factions who divided her to drop their arms, and this calm left him at liberty to diſplay all the forces of his extenſive monarchy. His finances were in a flouriſhing condition, his armies were numerous, and compoſed of ſoldiers inured by continual practice to the uſe of arms; the court abounded with generals who were formed under the hero they had recently loſt; the council had admirable leſſons; the true intereſts of the kingdom were laid open, and a road pointed out for the proſperity of the ſtate.

ENGLAND was in a condition to ſhare with France in the honour of protecting the reſt of Europe. The three kingdoms were now united by the death of Elizabeth. That princeſs had

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left the nation happy and quiet; a navy ſuperior to the reſt of the world diffuſed through every part of the ſtate, a heat and vigour that might be daily increaſed. James I, unhappily had none of the qualities neceſſary on ſuch an occaſion. He was humane, affable, timid, a learned divine and weak politician; he lived in peace with all powers, with whom he was unwilling to have any conteſt, and in friendſhip with his parliament to whom he gave up every thing. Beloved and deſpiſed by his people, he abandoned the cares of adminiſtration to a prodigal and voluptuous miniſter, who made ſale of the moſt precious intereſts of the crown.

The beſt part of Italy was in the poſſeſſion of the king of Spain and governed by vice-roys; either formidable for their power or deteſted for their oppreſſion.

The popes hemmed in on all ſides by that prince, co-incided with his deſigns from motives of fear, bleſſed and hated him, and were ready to ſecond with zeal any perſon that could give them hopes of curtailing his power. Venice, ſtill more cloſely ſurrounded by the Auſtrian poſſeſſions, kept a vigilant eye on the deſigns of that family, ſhe was attentive to the proceedings of the archduke of Gratz, flattered Rodolph, obſerved the motions of Mathias, made an alliance with France and menaced the Turks. Notwithſtanding the ſevere blow ſhe received by the loſs of Cyprus, ſhe ſupported herſelf by conſiderable forces both by ſea and land, and particularly by

the extraordinary wiſdom and prudence of her ſenate.

Savoy was now more powerful than ever. The marquiſate of Saluce, lately acquired by her ſovereigns, made them maſters of the paſſage of the Alps, which they could open or ſhut to the two rival families; Charles Emanuel had lately entered into a treaty of friendſhip with France againſt Spain, but ſtill faithfully adhered to the maxim of increaſing his own power by ſerving and attacking them alternately, as his intereſt ſuggeſted,

The Medicis continued to cheriſh peace, but were always prepared for war, and by that wiſe precaution preſerved a neutrality, which they made inſtrumental to the happineſs of Tuſcany. The Gonzagos were divided in two branches; one reigned at Mantua, and was forced to be a dependent on the court of Madrid; the other ſettled in France, poſſeſſed of the dutchy of Nevers, and was entirely attached to the intereſts of that monarch. The dukes of Parma and Modena enjoyed only a precarious ſovereignty under the controul of vice-roys, by whom they were ſurrounded. Geneva under the mortifying reflection of her former greatneſs, was labouring to extinguiſh the factions that divided her; ſhe dreaded the ambition of the duke of Savoy, ſecretly favoured France, and in appearance openly attached herſelf to Spain.

Holland now performed a conſiderable part; her liberty was ſecured by a truce made at

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the intreaty of her ancient maſters; ſhe had armies equal to thoſe of the greateſt monarchs; her powerful fleets made her be conſidered as one of the queens of the ocean; her aſtoniſhing commerce enriched the capital with the treaſures and products of both worlds; her cities were grown populous, rich and ſplendid; ſhe treated upon an equality with the firſt ſovereigns of our hemiſphere, and her arms protected the elector of Brandenbourg againſt the imperial powers.

SWEDEN was the firſt of the three kingdoms of the North: the talents of Guſtavus Vaſa had given a vigour to the nation that ſtill ſubſiſted fifty years after his death; the throne poſſeſſed conſiderable territories; the ſtate had forty thouſand excellent troops, with a fleet, commerce and arts. Charles IX, who had lately uſurped the ſcepter from his nephew, was poſſeſſed of capacity, valour, and the hearts of his ſubjects; he found himſelf ſuperior to the efforts of Poland, and made conqueſts in Ruſſia.

DENMARK recovered under Chriſtian IV, during a long peace which that monarch had the art to preſerve, while all the circumjacent ſtates were in confuſion and diſorder. The commerce of the capital formerly ſo flouriſhing, was daily ſinking by the increaſe of that of Holland; but the wiſdom of the prince ſupplied the want of that reſource by a continual attention to eternal proſperity. This ſovereign had conſiderable forces; he made a firm alliance with the proteſtants of Germany, and was careful at the ſame

time to profit by the quarrels, as well as the faults of his neighbours.

Poland was entirely engrossed by her rash expedition against Russia. The nobles unmindful of the true interests of their country, blindly united in the schemes of conquest formed by Sigismond III; this ambitious and weak monarch, after being expelled from his hereditary throne, by his injustice against Russia, endeavoured to repair the losses occasioned by his imprudence in Sweden.

Russia was in the most dreadful confusion; Moscow was a prey to various factions; the throne was the sport of impostors; the Polanders ravaged the empire; the Swedes usurped her provinces, and the Boyards or nobles rent it in different parts.

Turkey daily declined, the enthusiasm of glory and religion, so fertile in triumphs, was extinguished under the late sultans, who were as much despised as their ancestors had been revered. Achmet III, immersed in the pleasures or bloody intrigues of the seraglio, left the cares of his crown to vizirs improperly chosen, punished their crimes from caprice, without repairing their errors. He was at war with Persia, who triumphed and groaned under the tyranny of Shah-Abas.

The coasts of Africa now exhibited the empire of Morocco, where a tyrant, who studied nothing but the gratification of his passions made millions of people unhappy, until at length, a man of resolution blended the blood of the despot with that of the victims. In the same quarter likewise,

wiſe, appeared the republics of Tunis, Tripoli and Algiers, if we may honour with that name a motley aſſociation of robbers and pirates, the enemies and dregs of various nations, who ſubſiſted only by fraud, rapine and murder: cowards, who ſhewed no reſolution but againſt weakneſs, and, who having united to enſlave chriſtians, revenged the ſufferings of the latter in their mutual animoſity and deſtruction.

The iſland of Malta ſtill continued to diſplay thoſe prodigies of valour the world had ſo long admired; a few knights, maſters of a barren rock, made it fatal to the Ottoman fleets, terrible to barbarians, the aſylum of mariners, the deſpair of the Eaſt, and one of the bulwarks of Europe.

The taſte for literature was now more diffuſed than ever; ſeveral modern languages were cultivated and improved; the fine arts, without deſerting Italy, were introduced into the neighbouring kingdoms; aſtronomy had made the greateſt progreſs; ſome ſecrets of nature were diſcovered; and the aurora of philoſophy began to enlighten the Weſt.

FRANCE.

Lewis XIII at the age of eighteen aſcended the throne of an immortal father under the authority of Mary of Medicis his mother, to whom the parliament committed the guardianſhip and regency. The royal family was compoſed of the king, of Gaſton his only brother and three princeſſes,

princeſſes, all very young and all the offspring of Mary. Beſides thoſe legitimate, Henry had left ſeveral natural children; the principal of thoſe were the duke and chevalier of Vendome, ſons of Gabrielle d'Eſtrees; they had been legitimated a few years before.

At the head of the princes of the blood was Henry de Condé, brought into the world by the unfortunate Charlotte de la Trimouille, ſix months after the death of his father. Lewis, count of Soiſſons, was the chief of the ſecond branch; the duke of Montpenſier formed a third; the count of Auvergne, baſtard ſon of Charles IX, enjoyed the ſame rank and honours. Margaret of Valois, the firſt wife of Henry, undiſturbed by ambition or regret, paſſed her days in ſweet tranquility, and divided her time between devotion, pleaſure and reading.

The duke of Sully had the direction of the treaſury, the marine and artillery; and no dignity in fact was too great a recompenſe for the zeal and abilities of that miniſter. Epernon, well verſed in the arts of intrigue and ambition, and accuſtomed to independence, enjoyed the immenſe riches he had received from the favour of Henry III, and under the title of governor of Guyenne, was actually ſovereign of that opulent province. Guiſe derived conſequence from the great names of his illuſtrious progenitors; he was the grandſon of Francis, who preſerved and governed France, ſon to Henry that was aſſaſſinated in aſcending the throne, and nephew to Mayenne,

enne, who reigned with imperious authority under a modeſt title; he was near wearing the crown himſelf; a part of the ſtate declared for him, and the government of Provence had been beſtowed on him as a reward for his ſubmiſſion. The duke of Bouillon, who had married the heireſs of La Marck through the influence of Henry, was in poſſeſſion of the ſovereignty of Sedan, had an immenſe eſtate in France, and great credit at court; the late king greatly eſteemed him on account of his valour, and this quality was ſupported by the moſt prudent conduct. Montmorency, ſon to the famous commander who, ſo long held the ſword of Conſtable of France, enjoyed the ſame exalted dignity, governed Languedoc, had numerous friends and a ſon of the moſt promiſing expectations. Leſdiguieres preſerved Dauphiny, and was looked upon as the ableſt general in France. All thoſe ambitious and enterpriſing nobles, who had been kept in awe in the preceding reign by the capacity of a hero, were now in hopes of ſharing the power with Mary, and leaving her no more than the ſhadow of authority. Their conduct required the moſt vigilant attention, the utmoſt caution was likewiſe neceſſary to avoid giving them any cauſe of complaint.

The nation was ſtill divided by the two factions that religion produced. The wiſdom of Henry had obliged both parties to drop their arms; but their animoſity was ſtill ready to burſt forth, and nothing but the utmoſt exertion of prudence could prevent a renewal of the horrors of the preceding century. Great care was neceſſary to confine the

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religion tolerated within the bounds prescribed by the edict of Nantz, and still greater precaution was requisite to hinder the established church from abusing her superiority.

To support Holland, that was so troublesome to the family of Spain, to enter into a strict alliance with the protestants of Germany who disturbed the imperial branch; to assist the princes that laid claim to the succession of Juliers, to kindle a war in Italy, and preserve Savoy from the despotic attempts of the court of Madrid; in short, to raise, encourage, and pension enemies against an ambitious house, who had been the cause of the former misfortunes of France; such was the plan, with respect to foreign affairs, the hero, now regretted, had formed and of which Europe expected the execution.

Mary of Medicis began her regency in perfect opposition to those wise measures. In the very first year, she entered into a treaty of friendship with Spain and disavowed all the designs of her consort; she cemented this alliance by the double marriage of her daughter Elizabeth with Philip III, and of Lewis XIII. with the infanta. At the same time she abandoned the interests of the Dutch and protestants of Germany, and considering Sully as a troublesome censor, removed him from all his employments, to bestow them on foreigners. Concini and his wife Galigai, possessed the entire confidence of Mary; the origin of both was obscure, and they had raised themselves by the most shameful intrigues. The Florentine adorned with the most splendid titles, and loaded with

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riches and favours, appeared at the head of the council and armies with the name of marshal d'Ancre. This new minister, who was violent, pompous, haughty and greedy of accumulating riches, without being over scrupulous as to the means, soon became an object of indignation to the great, and of hatred among the people. A general murmur in the provinces became the signal for a revolt, and Condé raised the standard. The two Vendomes, Auvergne, Montmorency, and one half of the court joined him; Bouillon still continued near the regent, with no other view but to penetrate her designs and destroy the favourites.

Mary, to whom every object now appeared through the medium of fear only, disarmed the party of the princes by promises that seemed to leave them little to desire, and concluded the treaty of Saint-Menehould by which nothing was obtained, though in appearance every thing was granted. In the mean time she was impatient to have the majority of her son declared, and assembled the general states: the people were in hopes that this assembly would find some remedy for the disorders of the nation, but the queen was persuaded that she should be able to elude their authority. The division she artfully fomented among the different orders favouring her schemes, a vain contention blasted all the great projects of the assembly, and the states separated without having concluded any thing.

D'Ancre, now grown more formidable, made every thing bend to his pride, and the king seemed

ſeemed to have aſſumed the reins of authority for no other purpoſe but to transfer them to the favourite of his mother. Condé, who glowed with indignant rage to find himſelf ſo egregiouſly duped, retired from court and publiſhed a ſevere manifeſto in which he invited the malecontents to unite with him. Great numbers joined him and thoſe were ſoon followed by the reformed party, who had ſtill a more juſt foundation for complaint in the rapacious avarice of the miniſter. The provinces of the Weſt and South were in flames; the king was obliged to fight his way to the frontiers in order to meet his conſort, and conducted her to Paris through the dangers and tumult of arms.

Mary and her marſhal alarmed at the conſequences of a general inſurrection propoſed and obtained peace a ſecond time, by a ſpecious renunciation of their authority and power; but Condé being ſeduced to court by this reconciliation was arreſted and confined in the Baſtile. The marſhal now imagined that he had ſubjected every thing by this ſevere example; he changed the miniſtry, diſplaced the governors of the provinces, treated the nobles with inſolence, perſecuted the proteſtants, multiplied taxes and made an equal jeſt of promiſes, treaties and laws.

The princes provoked at the impriſonment of their chief, the nobles, the calviniſts and parliament, all equally inſulted, united in one project of vengeance, and ſeeing the impotency of menaces had recourſe to arms. The marſhal oppoſed them

them with three armies; thoſe were commanded by perſons entirely devoted to his orders, and France trembled at the near proſpect of the horrors and deſolation of a civil war.

YOUNG Lewis, in the mean time, began to be ſenſible of the charms of authority. Albert de Luynes, a gentleman nearly of his age, had introduced himſelf at court with a view of repairing the unkindneſs of fortune; he found means to attract the notice of his maſter, inſinuated himſelf gradually into his confidence, and at length ventured to open his eyes with reſpect to his ſituation, and that of the kingdom. The ſubjection in which his mother held him was introduced with art and delicacy, the inſolence of the favourite painted in the ſtrongeſt colours, and the confuſion of the ſtate repreſented as the prelude to the moſt dreadful revolutions. The young monarch, no leſs terrified than incenſed at the view of this horrid picture, conceived by degrees a ſtrong inclination to reſume the ſcepter out of the hands of the foreigner that abuſed it. A violent exertion of authority ſeemed the only means of ſhaking off the yoke, but Lewis naturally timid heſitated a long while. Determined by repeated images of the calamities of a civil war, he at length ſigned the order for arreſting the marſhal, whom Vitry diſpatched at the gate of the Louvre on pretence of imaginary reſiſtance.

LEWIS now declared himſelf maſter; the princes, lords and proteſtants threw themſelves at the feet of the ſovereign, and returned to their fidelity and allegiance. The memory of the marſhal was proſcribed, his body

body after being expoſed to the inſults of the populace, was faſtened to a gibbet, and Galigai, though ſhe confounded the ignorance of the judges who charged her with witchcraft, was committed to the flames. Mary in vain ſolicited the favour of ſpeaking with her ſon, ſhe was ordered to retire to Blois, and her friends were either obliged to fly or filled the public priſons.

Luynes, duke, conſtable and king, as it were, in the name of his maſter, imagined his favour and tranquility ſecure, while Mary in the obſcurity of her retreat, was labouring to deprive him of both. Epernon, who was ſtill abſolute in Guyenne, had been ſuſpected of indulging the moſt tender ſentiments for this queen. Her misfortunes perhaps re-kindled his former attachment and induced him to eſpouſe her cauſe; eluding the vigilance of the new miniſter, he advanced towards Blois at the head of a body of troops, and dexterouſly concealed his march. The widow of the great Henry, who was ſtrictly guarded in the caſtle, was obliged to deſcend by a rope-ladder from a very high window in the middle of the night, and was in danger of periſhing in the deep trenches ſhe had to paſs. She had however the good fortune to join the duke, accompanied him to Angouleme, and there invited her friends to her aſſiſtance. France that had deteſted the queen for her abuſe of proſperity, now lamented her misfortunes, and a ſtrong party was immediately formed for her in all the provinces. One half of the capital at the ſame time loudly demanded her return, and powerful intrigues were carrying on with her ſon. The conſtable, dreading the events

event of arms, was inclined to avoid the ſtorm by a reconciliation with his enemy. But what hopes could he have of regaining the friendſhip of a queen exaſperated by the murder of her favourites, by impriſonment for a whole year, and by the moſt mortifying injuries? Luynes was ſenſible that he had occaſion for the moſt able mediator, and exulted in having found the perſon he wanted

ARMAND DE RICHELIEU at an early period of life was diſtinguiſhed with marks of honour, for which he was no leſs indebted to his merits than his birth. At the age of twenty-two he was appointed biſhop of Lucon, and having introduced himſelf at court to the knowlege of the marſhal d'Ancre, obtained the poſt of ſecretary of ſtate through that courtier's intereſt. The fall of the favourite ſeemed to have ruined him. Involved in the general misfortunes of the party, he followed his protectreſs to Blois, but exciting the ſuſpicions of the miniſter, the fear of loſing his liberty induced him to retire to Avignon. There, while he ſeemed to divide his time between ſtudy and pleaſure, he privately kept up a ſtrict correſpondence with Mary, and in the obſcurity of his retreat governed the captive queen. He exulted at the proſpect of troubles as they might make his talents uſeful, and while he induſtriouſly formented them, he informed the favourite of the aſcendent he had over the queen. Luynes who had formerly dreaded his capacity, now reſolved to make it inſtrumental in extricating him from his alarming ſituation, and flattered

his ambition with the promiſe of reinſtating him in the place of ſecretary as a reward for the ſervice in caſe he ſucceeded. Armand accepted the offer, appeaſed the queen ſo far, as to make her ſolicit a reconciliation, and concluded with dictating the terms of peace.

Lewis and his mother embraced each other at the bridge of Ce, Luynes was reſtored to the friendſhip of the latter, and the mediator recovered his place. But Richelieu was deſirous of being a cardinal becauſe that eminent dignity would raiſe him nearer to the throne; a ſecond quarrel which he contrived to produce made his interpoſition once more neceſſary, for this he procured his nomination, and reconciled both parties.

The conſtable having now ſecurely eſtabliſhed his favour, devoted all his thoughts to enrich himſelf, and religion furniſhed him with an opportunity of gratifying his deſires. The reformed party who were powerful in Bearn, had formely uſurped ſome of the lands of the clergy, and ſixty years poſſeſſion confirmed by an edict ſeemed to ſecure their title for ever. Luynes, under the ſpecious pretext of reſtoring thoſe lands to the church, ſeized them in the name of the ſovereign, and kept a part for himſelf. This affair occaſioned a general alarm among the proteſtants who, finding their remonſtrances rejected with contempt, had recourſe to violent meaſures and appeared in arms. They were headed by Rohan and Soubiſe, two brothers of the moſt ancient and illuſtrious origin, and allied to ſove-

reings;

reigns; they were both men of courage and integrity, faithful to their king, zealous for their religion and ready to ſhed the laſt drop of their blood for both. Soubiſe was more a ſoldier than a commander; Rohan was one of the greateſt generals and ableſt politicians of the age. Rohan ſeized upon Montauban, whence he commanded le Quercy and diſtreſſed Languedoc. Soubiſe took Blavet, whence he alarmed Bordeaux, and commanded all the weſtern coaſts of France. The favourite led the king againſt the two brothers, and encouraged by ſome advantages inveſted Montauban, but the intrepidity of the beſieged having triumphed notwithſtanding the preſence of the king, the conſtable was ſo much affected by this diſappointment, that he died of grief a few days after; this miniſter was not altogether unworthy of his elevation and good fortune, becauſe he was neither inſolent or cruel, a merit very uncommon in favourites. Circumſtances unhappily rendered his hand too feeble, extraordinary efforts of ſtrength and vigour were wanting to ſupport the throne that tottered on all ſides.

Lewis in the mean time continued the war and marched in purſuit of Soubiſe, who was maſter of the coaſts of the ocean were he ſupported his party. The monarch at the head of his troops croſſed over to the Iſle of Ré, and there diſplayed a valour worthy of his heroic father; he made himſelf maſter of the iſland, reduced ſeveral places and then returned to beſiege Royan; but all his courage proving un-

ſucceſsful againſt the capacity of Rohan, and being weary of ſhedding the blood of his people, he diſarmed the proteſtants by reſtoring the privileges of the edict of Nants.

Richelieu now flattered himſelf with the hopes of executing his great deſigns. Loaded with riches and honours, decorated with a character that placed him on a level with the princes of the blood, he imagined, however, he had done nothing for his glory. His ambition was to govern France, and he fancied the time was now arrived for gratifying his deſires; this hope might appear a vain chimera to any other perſon; Lewis never loved Mary of Medicis, and in him he hated and dreaded the favourite of that queen. Beſides as the prince was devout and chaſte, he could not be pleaſed to ſee at court a prelate that was celebrated for his amorous intrigues. Richelieu, who had ſuch an aſcendant over his paſſions, was unable to conquer that ſenſibility of heart which triumphs even over ambition; thoſe deſires no laws could ever reſtrain, and the moſt exalted rank is not proof againſt their influence and attacks. The prelate was acquainted with the ſentiments of the king but no way alarmed at them; he had ſtudied the character of Lewis; this prince was weak but thought juſtly; he had the fortitude to eſteem merit ſuperior to his own; he had ſuch a love for the ſtate that he would ſacrifice every other deſire to that object, and his moſt avowed enemy might be ſure to govern him, if he could anſwer for the re-eſtabliſhment and welfare

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of the kingdom. A noble confidence ſuggeſted to the heart of Richelieu that he was formed to ſecond the deſires of his maſter; he wanted only admiſſion to the council to make his talents known, and he did not doubt of ruling there the next day. Mary, after repeated ſolicitations in vain, at laſt obtained her ſon's conſent, but the prince was reſolved that the new miniſter ſhould have no more than an empty ſuffrage.

The council was compoſed of the cardinal Rochefoucault, a prelate of venerable morals but narrow capacity; of the conſtable Leſdiguieres, an excellent officer but a ſtranger to every thing but war; of Vieville, ſuperintendant of the finances, who knew no other way of ſupporting himſelf, but by laviſhing the treaſures of the ſtate on favourites; of d'Aligre, keeper of the ſeals, eſtimable for his integrity but a perferfect novice in political affairs.

In the midſt of this aſſembly, Richelieu addreſſed himſelf to the king in a language entirely new. He boldy threw open the curtain that concealed the greateſt part of the misfortunes of the ſtate. He repreſented the people groaning under oppreſſion, the nobles ſeditious, the calviniſts preſumptuous and reſtleſs, becauſe government always began with injuſtice to them and concluded with acts of weakneſs; he ſhewed him an independent republic riſing in Rochelle under the auſpices of the reformed religion, and forming in a manner a new ſtate within the old. At the ſame time he repreſented the finances exhauſted, the troops without diſcipline, the

marine neglected, and commerce annihilated. Thence making a tranſition to foreign intereſts, he deſcribed the family of Auſtria daily increaſing in power, enſlaving Germany, oppreſſing Italy, and in their ambitious ideas already devouring all France as a certain prey. He deſired to know on what allies the king could depend in order to prevent the impending ſtorm, as the faith of government was diſreſpected every where, neither the proteſtants of Germany or the powers of Italy, whom the miniſtry had ſo often betrayed, could, he ſaid, place any ſecurity in new treaties. He then threw out hints of infallible remedies for the great misfortunes he had deſcribed, but he aſſerted that they muſt be applied by a man of extenſive capacity and reſolution, who ſhould poſſeſs the entire confidence of his maſter, and be armed with all his authority.

Lewis was aſtoniſhed at the ideas of the new miniſter, and admired their depth and ſolidity. He looked upon him as the man formed to re-eſtabliſh his throne, and, notwithſtanding his perſonal diſlike, did not heſitate to intruſt him with his power. To ſubject the great, to fetter the arms of calviniſm, to humble the Houſe of Auſtria, to raiſe France on the ruins of that family and make her the ruling power, ſuch was the plan that Richelieu now formed. He was ſenſible that he had occaſion for a more able and more dependent council. He examined the conduct of Vieville with reſpect to the finances, and it was eaſy to find matter of complaint againſt a man who had ſo long enjoyed a place where it

is ſo difficult to preſerve integrity. The virtue of the cardinal Rochefoucault was proof againſt reproach, but as that virtue was frequently too rigid and might be injurious to the ſtate, opportunities were taken to diſguſt that miniſter which induced him to reſign; d'Aligre was deprived of the ſeals; and as for the conſtable he was ſuffered to remain in order to give his opinion with reſpect to war, but in every other matter he was not to be conſulted.

Richelieu did not immediately quarrel with Spain; he imagined it neceſſary firſt to appeaſe domeſtic faction. He thought it ſufficient ſecretly to ſupport her enemies, and raiſe every obſtacle that might obſtruct her advancement. For this purpoſe he renewed the treaty with the Dutch, encouraged the diſaffected Catalonians, ſent ſuccours to the Griſons, and procured them a peace that ſuſpended the progreſs of Auſtria, whilſt emiſſaries, ſcattered through different parts of Germany, furniſhed the proteſtants with men, money and hopes. Having made every thing eaſy on that ſide, the miniſter then turned his eyes to the great and the calviniſts.

Calvinism had places of ſtrength, troops, generals and a fleet. Three millions of people in the ſeveral provinces of the kingdom formed, in ſome ſort, a ſeparate nation, of which Rochelle was the capital. A ſecure harbour, the moſt extenſive commerce and wiſe regulations had been increaſing for a century the population and wealth of that city. A powerful fleet covered her from inſult on the ſea-ſide, and the immenſe for-

tifications with which ſhe was ſecured againſt every attack from the continent, made her be looked upon as impregnable. In the reign of Charles IX, the duke of Anjou, who triumphed at Jarnac and Mount-Contour, was defeated with all the forces of France near the walls of that city. It was therefore of the utmoſt conſequence to reduce a power that daily increaſed and afforded protection and refuge to all rebellious and diſaffected ſubjects. But beſides the difficulties that reſulted from the ſituation of the place, Great Britain preſented another almoſt inſurmountable; the Engliſh nation was ſo cloſely attached to the people of Rochelle that there could he no hopes of diſuniting them. As the king however poſſeſſed the executive power with reſpect to public reſolutions, it was thought material to gain him. With this view Richelieu propoſed a match between Charles I, ſon and ſucceſſor to James, and Henrietta of France, a princeſs paſſionately fond of her country. She had beauty, wit and talents that qualified her for governing the mind of a tender conſort. Superſtition murmured at the marriage of a catholic princeſs with the ſovereign of a different perſuaſion; this did not prevent Richelieu from urging the alliance and the marriage was accompliſhed. Another difficulty of equal importance aroſe from the want of a fleet, a thing abſolutely neceſſary againſt maritime rebels; Holland only could furniſh him with ſhips, but the conformity of worſhip ſeemed to raiſe an invincible obſtacle to his expectations from that quarter. Art, money and promiſes however

however overcame the repugnance of the Dutch, and it was with the ſhips of calviniſts young Montmorency firſt began to attack the power of Rochelle.

In the mean time the new proceedings of the miniſter, the expulſion of the old members of the council, hatred that uſually purſues boundleſs authority, envy that can never be reconciled to ſuperior merit, but eſpecially the neceſſity of obedience and ſubmiſſion, all provoked the great and made them enemies to Richelieu. The dutcheſs of Chevreuſe ſo famous for the charms of her wit and her extravagant conduct, was the ſoul of this faction: this lady, who was amourous, vindictive, ambitious and inflamed with every paſſion, had reigned under Mary of Medicis, and having formerly ſeen the cardinal languiſhing at her feet, was in hopes of governing him during his miniſtry. Fired with rage to ſee her expectations diſappointed, ſhe reſolved to ſacrifice him to her reſentment. She gained over Chalais the maſter of the wardrobe and creature of Richelieu, who joined in her deſign and ſacrificed gratitude to love; ſhe ſeduced marſhal Ornano by flattering him with the hopes of ſimilar favours, and had the art to perſuade him to unite with his rival. Chalais and Ornano were both favourites with Gaſton of Orleans, and readily prevailed upon that prince to aſſiſt the conſpiracy. The two Vendomes, provoked at ſeeing themſelves neglected and uſeleſs, drew over the count of Soiſſons. They all unanimouſly reſolved to get rid of the cardinal, and aſſaſſination being the moſt expeditions method

thod was looked upon as the beſt; but in the very moment of execution the diſcovery of the plot diſperſed or deſtroyed the authors. Chevreuſe fled to Lorraine, Soiſſons to Rome, Ornano was ſent to the Baſtile where he died; and Chalais, after a regular trial, loſt his head on the ſcaffold. The cardinal made uſe of this danger to obtain a guard; and the aſſembly called *les Notables*, which the wiſhes of the public ſolicited in order to be a check on the power of the cardinal contributed to increaſe it, becauſe he found means to have the members elected in ſuch a manner that they applauded his conduct and cofirmed his authority. Under the pretext of reſtraining a a barbarous rage, he aboliſhed duelling, which cheriſhed the ſpirit of independence among the nobility; the plea of neceſſary economy furniſhed him with arguments for ſuppreſſing the great offices that were checks upon his authority; the death of Leſdiguieres gave him an opportunity to extinguiſh the place of conſtable the moſt formidable of all; he obliged Montmorency to reſign the dignity of admiral, which he aboliſhed in order to aſſume it himſelf under the title of ſuperintendant of the ſeas. Thus he converted his dangers to the advantage of his power, and derived abſolute authority from conſpiracy and rebellion.

Richelieu now maſter of the court, the army and navy purſued the civil war with more vigour and undertook the ſiege of Rochelle. He marched in perſon againſt that place, with the title of generaliſſimo, the king accompanied him followed by the principal nobility of the kingdom.

Richelieu

Richelieu directed all the operations, and the preſence of Lewis ſerved only to inflame the ardour of the troops and accelerate the execution of whatever orders were given.

The brave Rohan, from the neceſſity he was under of viſiting all the cities of his party in order to encourage and ſupport ſome, and aſſiſt or defend others, was prevented from ſhutting himſelf up in Rochelle; but his mother and ſiſter, who poſſeſſed all his courage, went from houſe to houſe to exhort the inhabitants to defend their walls, their liberty and religion; the mayor laid a poinard on his table in the manſion-houſe, and ſwore he would bury it in the heart of the firſt perſon that ſhould dare to talk of ſurrendering.

England was at length rouſed, and the parliament abſolutely inſiſted on ſending ſuccours to a place of ſuch conſequence to the common cauſe: Charles I, and the duke of Buckingham, his favourite, were at variance with the French miniſter, and rejoiced at the opportunity of oppoſing him. A powerful fleet was equipped, and had it arrived, all the abilities of the cardinal muſt have proved abortive. Private anecdotes have furniſhed Richelieu on this occaſion with an expedient that appears incredible, though it is ſtrongly atteſted. It is aſſerted that Buckingham having been ſent to France ſometime before to ſolicit the hand of Henrietta in the name of his maſter, had conceived a paſſion for Ann of Auſtria, and even ventured to declare it. There was every reaſon to preſume, that he might be eaſily gained

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over to the intereſt of France, if the queen could be prevailed upon to condeſcend ſo far to indulge his vanity and paſſion, as to write one of thoſe inſignificant letters that in ſaying nothing, promiſe every thing to the illuſion of a lover. It is added, that Richelieu perſuaded the king of the neceſſity of this ſingular ſtratagem, and Lewis obliged the queen to write the letter. Buckingham, deaf to every call of reſentment, duty and honour, put to ſea with a fleet of crazy ſhips, purpoſely miſſed the Iſle of Re, and returned ſhamefully to England, where he was ſoon after aſſaſſinated.

THE cardinal well knowing the character of the Engliſh, and that diſappointments ſerved only to animate their courage, judged that the people would immediately oblige Charles to ſend a fleet better prepared and under more able commanders. He therefore conceived a deſign of raiſing in the ſea a mole of ſuch extent as to ſhut up the harbour of Rochelle, and of ſtrength and firmneſs ſufficient to reſiſt all the efforts of foreign ſuccours. Unmoved by the jeſts of the army, who laughed at the project as chimerical, he laid the foundation and preſided night and day over the works. The winds, the waves and beſieged deſtroyed all his labours ſeveral times, and his enemies exulted in the hopes of his approaching ſhame and diſappointment. Lewis himſelf, ſhaken by the multiplicity of obſtacles that daily aroſe, and alarmed, moreover, at the ſucceſſes of Rohan in Languedoc, was inclined to march to the relief of that province, and give orders for raiſing

raiſing the ſiege. Richelieu, more diſturbed by the uneaſineſs of his maſter than by the ſea, the people of Rochelle or the Engliſh, had the pleaſure at length to ſee his perſeverance triumph over them all. A mole, nine hundred fathoms long, and proportionably broad, appeared, as it were, riſing out of the deep; on this a battery was raiſed, that commanded the ſea and deprived the city of all hopes. The Engliſh fleet in vain bore down upon the mole with all the fury imaginable, and endeavoured to deſtroy it, or at leaſt force their way into the harbour. The ſolidity of the work triumphed over all their attempts, and they ſuffered ſo much from the fire of the batteries, that they were obliged to return to England. Rochelle, after ſupporting with heroic patience and fortitude, all the horrors of famine, at length ſunk under the talents of the cardinal, and her greatneſs expired with the deſtruction of her fortifications.

The miniſter then marched to deſtroy the reſt of the party; Rohan, in vain diſplayed the greateſt capacity and the moſt intrepid valour; the activity of the cardinal purſued and diſtreſſed him continually, was every where triumphant, and calviniſm for ever ſubjected to the throne. Contented with diſarming the people of that perſuaſion, Richelieu left them liberty of conſcience, with moſt of their privileges, and ſhewed it was found policy alone, and not a ſpirit of perſecution that had armed him againſt proteſtants.

The miniſter had laid the great and calviniſm at the feet of his ſovereign; all that now remained

ed was to humble the Houſe of Auſtria. This Houſe was more formidable than ever, and the two branches acted in perfect concert together. The archduke of Gratz who, under the name of Ferdinand II, ſucceeded the emperor Mathias, had made himſelf maſter of Germany; Philip IV, who replaced his father, had in the duke of Olivares, an able miniſter, that was meditating to ſubject all Italy to his power; and both courts were in hopes of accompliſhing their deſigns by means of two events. Valteline, a province ſituate in the midſt of the Alps, and ſubject to the Griſons, ſeparated the dominions of the two Auſtrian branches, and prevented a communication between their mutual forces; the people of Valteline were moſtly catholics, and had complained of ſome acts of oppreſſion committed by their ſovereigns, who were zealous calviniſts; Spain made this a pretext and proclaiming all over Europe, that ſhe had no other deſign than to protect their religion from the oppreſſive yoke of impious tyrants, was uſing endeavours to ſeize on that province. The ſovereignty of Mantua and Montferrat, fertile provinces that lay contiguous to the Spaniſh dominions, was become vacant by the death of Vincent, the late duke. The ſucceſſion belonged to Gonſague, duke of Nevers, born and ſettled in France: but under the pretence that Mantua was a fief of the empire, the emperor reſolved to ſeize on that dukedom, or beſtow it on ſome prince devoted to his intereſt: this deſign was ſupported by Spain and Savoy. Againſt thoſe attempts, which, if ſucceſsful, muſt have ſecured

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the ſuperiority of Auſtria, Richelieu exerted all his efforts; the duke of Rohan, whoſe authority he had ruined in France, but whoſe talents and valour he reſpected, was ſent to Valteline; he ordered the brave Thoiras to defend Montferrat; he entered Piedmont himſelf with his ſovereign, under whom he ſerved in appearance, while he in reality commanded. The valour of Lewis forced the barriers of Suza, and the duke of Savoy, ſeeing the ſtandard of the monarch planted in the heart of his dominions, was obliged, contrary to his inclination, to aſſiſt the arms of France; they were victorious at the ſame time in Valteline, where Rohan had to contend with the ſuperiority of the enemy, the diſaffection of the people and the want of ſuccours. The ſucceſs was not ſo deciſive in Montferrat, where Thoiras, ſhut up in Caſal, ſupported the reputation of his country by his courage, but could not repair the great weakneſs of the army. A bloody battle was about to determine, under the walls of that city, the diſputes of both crowns, with reſpect to the poſſeſſion of that province, when Mazarin offered himſelf as a mediator, and had the addreſs to ſucceed in reconciling all parties, and effecting a peace, entirely to the advantage of France; the duke of Nevers was put in poſſeſſion of Mantua; the duke of Savoy gave hoſtages for his fidelity; Spain relinquiſhed for a time her deſigns againſt Valteline, and the French monarch returned to his dominions covered with glory.

Lewis, in the mean time, was ſuddenly attacked by a diſorder that appeared mortal; he ſtopped at Lyons, where he was accompanied by the two queens: Mary, who had raiſed Richelieu to power, was in hopes of ſeeing him after his elevation entirely devoted to her intereſt. Diſappointed in thoſe expectations, and enjoying nothing but vain honours, without any authority or influence, ſhe had long languiſhed for an opportunity of being revenged. Though ſhe did not appear openly as an accomplice in the firſt conſpiracy, ſhe was, however, the ſecret ſoul of that affair, while Chevreuſe was the inſtrument. Having new motives of reſentment in the death or baniſhment of her friends, perſuaded likewiſe that ſhe did not eſcape the penetration of her enemy, and convinced that ſhe muſt either deſtroy him or be ruined herſelf, ſhe waited for an opportunity of anticipitating him, and imagined it now offered.

Ann was with her, and that young queen could have no friendſhip for an imperious eccleſiaſtic who, not content with robbing her of power, had deprived her of the heart of her conſort by artful calumny. The ſituation of affairs was favourable to the deſigns of Mary. Lewis, the triumphant arbiter of Italy, maſter of the great and calviniſm, imagined there was nothing more to be done; and as he never liked Richelieu but for his utility, it was an eaſy matter to excite his diſpleaſure againſt that miniſter. Beſides, from ſickneſs and ill-humour, he was in that diſpoſition of mind in which men of the greateſt firmneſs are open

open to ſeduction; in fine, Richelieu was abſent, and his maſter ſurrounded by his enemies. The weak monarch was attacked with the aſcendant of a mother, the intreaties and prayers of a brother, the tears of an amiable conſort, and the cries of a whole court, who deteſted the miniſter on account of his authority and merit. Overcome by the general voice, the re-eſtabliſhment of his health ſerved only to confirm his reſolution. The miniſter ſoon learned that Lewis had retired to Verſailles, and was about to ſign an order for his exile or impriſonment. The croud of dependents that uſually ſurrounded him, was now ſuddenly diſperſed; the great, who before flattered him, were loud in their abuſe and cenſures againſt him, all France ſeemed to exult with ungrateful joy. The few friends that ſtill adhered to him repeatedly urged the neceſſity of his flying, and the great man was preparing to follow the imprudent advice, when a friar ſuggeſted a more worthy reſolution. Joſeph, whom caprice had thrown into the order of capuchins, had made that humble condition ſubſervient to his pride. He was auſtere in the cloiſter, a preacher in the city, a miſſioner in the country, an artful ſpy and a factious perſon at court, where he became the confident of the policy of the cardinal, and the inſtrument of all the crimes which it extorted. "You are undone, ſaid this man, "if you do not brave the anger of the king him-"ſelf; go, inſiſt upon ſeeing him, even againſt "his will, and this very night you will be all pow-"erful again." Struck with this advice, Riche-

lieu actually went and forced his way into the cloſet of Lewis. He there recapitulated his paſt ſervices, repreſented freſh troubles ready to break forth, alarmed him with imaginary dangers, diſplayed new projects of glory and greatneſs, and ſo far regained his aſcendant over the mind of the monarch that he quitted him more powerful than ever. He concealed this return of favour for ſome days, during which his emiſſaries attentively obſerved the behaviour of the court, and the moſt dreadful vengeance ſoon fell upon the heads of all thoſe who had imprudently betrayed any ſigns of joy. Mary was forced to quit the kingdom and beg ſhelter at Bruſſels. Gaſton fled to Lorraine, and found himſelf expoſed to continual ſnares: Marillac, the keeper of the ſeals, was ſtripped of his dignity and died in priſon; and his brother, after being arreſted in the very midſt of the army he commanded, loſt his head on the ſcaffold.

Every thing trembled under the miniſter, and terror reſtored a temporary calm to the ſtate; but ſenſible that this tranquility was not ſufficiently eſtabliſhed, he did not as yet openly attack the Houſe of Auſtria, and was ſatisfied with aſſiſting, underhand, all the enemies of that powerful family. He confirmed the alliance already made with Holland, favoured the revolt of the Spaniſh provinces, encouraged the proteſtants of Germany, united with thoſe of the North, and furniſhed Guſtavus Adolphus, with the ſums that hero wanted to humble Vienna. He was careful,

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at the ſame time, to extinguiſh every ſpark that might re-kindle the flames of civil commotions.

Gaston, who retired to Nancy, had married the ſiſter of the ſovereign of that country, an alliance that might make that prince formidable. The miniſter after having the marriage annulled by the authority of the laws, ſent an army to oblige the duke to drive Gaſton, his wife and all his adherents out of his dominions. The ſeverity with which the widow and ſon of the great Henry were treated, filled the people with indignation, and furniſhed Gaſton with a new army to which the diſaffected reſorted in crowds; when he entered the ſouthern parts of the kingdom he received powerful ſuccours from Marſhal Montmorency, who joined him: this young nobleman, the moſt opulent in France, the ſon and grandſon of a conſtable or captain-general, and heir to their authority in Languedoc, found no difficulty in raiſing the people of a province, where he was in a manner adored for every quality and virtue that can adorn human nature. Gaſton was never more powerful, or conceived more rational hopes of being avenged; they were all blaſted however at Caſtelnaudari, where the fortune of the cardinal triumphed by the talents of Schomberg, and all the friends of Mary periſhed. Montmorency, after forcing the enemy's lines ſeven times and piercing to the ſeventh rank, was at laſt taken priſoner covered with duſt and blood, and given up to the vengeance of his implacable enemy. The prince, in hopes of ſaving the life of his friend by ſubmitting to the haughty cardinal,

threw down his arms, accepted every condition impoſed, and ſwore eternal ſubmiſſion and fidelity, provided the unfortunate accomplice of his revolt obtained a pardon. The inexorable cardinal made a jeſt of the promiſes with which he had flattered the credulous Gaſton, and the unhappy Montmorency, to the regret of all France, was carried to the ſcaffold. A terrible commiſſion, under the name of *Grands Jours*, was afterwards opened to inquire rigorouſly into the actions of the nobility, and avenged the vaſſals for the oppreſſions they ſuffered from their lords. The ſovereign courts murmured, but a ſevere prohibition excluded them from any ſhare in ſtate affairs. The biſhops were tried before extraordinary tribunals which the pope was obliged to admit, and found no farther protection in their privileges; for though they were ſuffered to ſubſiſt they were left uſeleſs. The miniſter in the mean while formed a marine, augmented the diſcipline of the troops, and eſtabliſhed admirable order in the finances; he protected all the arts and every ſcience; he encouraged, cheriſhed and cultivated learning; he erected theatres, founded the French academy, preſided over the labours for fixing the meridian and eſtabliſhed a botanical garden.

All that now remained was to ſtrike the laſt blow and raiſe France on the ruins of the Houſe of Auſtria. While Guſtavus lived Richelieu was in ſtrict friendſhip with that hero; he continued the alliance with his daughter Chriſtina, and ſeconded the victories of that princeſs: the miſ-

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fortunes that ſucceeded the triumphs of the Swedes became advantageous to Lewis, becauſe they were obliged to give him up their conqueſt of Alſace which they were unable to defend, and by their decline France became the ſoul of the confederacy; Savoy was dependent on that crown, Holland was cloſely attached to the ſame power, Venice confirmed her ancient alliance, and one half of Europe was prepared to ſecond her efforts.

In thoſe circumſtances Richelieu thought the time was now come for attacking the two branches of the Houſe of Auſtria. Six armies appeared at the ſame time on the frontiers; Weimar acted on the Rhine, Crequi in Italy, La Valette in Piedmont, Rohan appeared in Valteline, Gaſſion covered Rouſillon, and favoured the troubles of Catalonia. Secret emiſſaries inflamed the minds of the Portugueze and Sicilians; the archbiſhop Sourdis, who commanded the French fleet, ravaged the coaſt of Spain, whilſt Tromp at the head of the Dutch ſquadrons, purſued the Spaniards in both hemiſpheres.

Some diſappointments in Picardy and the ſurrender of Corby, which thoſe misfortunes occaſioned, alarmed France; but thoſe loſſes were followed by ſplendid triumphs. Weimar took four generals in one battle, and John de Vert who had ſpread terror to Paris, being now a priſonner, was become a ſubject of mirth and pleaſantry to that city. Savoy, having recently loſt two ſucceſſive ſovereigns, was governed by the widow of Victor Amedeus, ſiſter to Lewis XIII, who devoted herſelf to France and fruſtrated the

ambition of her brothers-in-law. Turin ſurpriſed by the rebellious princes whom Spain protected, was recovered by the French after a famous ſiege. Weimar continued his triumphs on the Rhine, and Gaſton who acted in Flanders ſhewed himſelf as great at the head of an army, as he appeared weak at court: Condé and Turenne ſerved their apprenticeſhip under him; preſages of their future glory were given at the ſiege of Arras made famous by the valour diſplayed on both ſides. In the midſt of thoſe triumphs Ann of Auſtria, after a ſterility of twenty years, gave to France a dauphin, who afterwards became famous by the name of Lewis XIV. The troubles of Catalonia in the mean time increaſed, and a total revolution, having ſeparated it from Spain, gave that important province to Lewis; Portugal, encouraged by this example, ſhook off the yoke, and became a zealous ally to the French monarch. Thus every thing was unfortunate on the ſide of Auſtria, and all was ſucceſsful on that of France.

The miniſter, having confirmed his power by the public proſperity, ſpared no perſon at court. The queen, from a ſuſpicion that ſhe held a correſpondence with the fugitive Chevreuſe, was inſulted, perſecuted and almoſt a priſonner in the very palace where ſhe had ſo lately given an heir to the monarchy. A young Lady of the name of la Fayette, in whoſe converſation the king ſeemed to take pleaſure, was baniſhed from court becauſe ſhe gave ſome umbrage; and the miniſter, from an idea that Cinq Mars was attached to him, obliged

obliged the king to take him for his favourite. Mary endeavoured to intereſt her Engliſh ſon-in-law in her favour; monks were ſent in diſguiſe to Great Britain who kindled the flames of rebellion in the three kingdoms. The count of Soiſſons having refuſed to mix the blood of kings with that of the cadinal by marrying his niece, was loaded with inſults, and repeated mortifications at length forced him into the arms of the enemies of his country. Inflamed with deſires of revenge he perſuaded Bouillon to join in the conſpiracy, and both the princes, aſſiſted by the Spaniards, entered France, where they gained the battle of Marſſee and were growing formidable; but Soiſſons in purſuing his victory was ſuddenly aſſaſſinated by ruffians poſted for the purpoſe; his death ruined the faction he commanded. Thus every thing was ſubjected to the power of the cardinal both at home and abroad; even his maſter, who ſaw the glory of his reign depended on the deſpotiſm of that miniſter, blindly obeyed him while he hated him more than ever.

Cinq Mars, beloved by both, and raiſed to the dignity of maſter of the horſe, appeared the ſecond in power and favour; but that ambitious youth could not be contented with leſs than the firſt part, and fancied he perceived in the averſion of the king the means of ſupplanting his benefactor; diſappointed in thoſe expectations, he reſolved to call in the Spaniards, and by giving up ſome provinces of the kingdom, engage them in his intereſt; he flattered himſelf that,

with their aſſiſtance, he ſhould be in a condition to oblige the king to diſgrace his miniſter and give him the place. As a great name was neceſſary to give a ſanction to the plot, he applied to Gaſton, who, ever ready to embrace any opportunity that might free him from the yoke of an eccleſiaſtic whom he deteſted, did not heſitate to concur in the deſign. Spain, exulting at this proſpect of repairing her loſſes, haſtened the concluſion of the treaty. The favourite in the mean time redoubled his efforts with the monarch, and, by continually repreſenting the pride, oſtentation, voluptuouſneſs and tyranny of the cardinal, at length began to ſhake his attachment. The miniſter was never in greater danger or nearer to deſtruction; but the ſpies he had in different parts of Europe procured him a copy of the treaty made by ſubjects with a foreign enemy: with this treaty in his hand he appeared before Lewis, and ſhewed him in his favourite, a traitor that was conſpiring againſt the ſtate. The monarch, alarmed at the plot, was now more cloſely attached to Richelieu, and gave up the enemies of that miniſter to his vengeance. Gaſton in vain hoped to eſcape puniſhment, by baſely betraying his accomplices. The honours and privileges due to his birth were ſuppreſſed, he was deprived of his guards, his principal eſtates were confiſcated and, after ſuffering humiliations worſe than death, he was ſent into exile. Cinq Mars loſt his head and, Bouillon preſerved only his by giving up the ſovereignty of Sedan. De Thou, ſon to the famous hiſtorian, a loyal ſubject, who had

had uſed all his endeavours to prevent the conſpiracy, but whoſe tenderneſs and ſenſibility would not allow him to divulge it, leaſt he ſhould ruin his friends, the learned and virtuous de Thou ſhared in the ſame fate with Cinq-Mars.

MARY, now ſeeing no reſource in her misfortunes, ſunk under their weight, and the relict of of a hero, the mother or mother-in-law of four ſovereigns and of three of the moſt powerful monarchs in Europe died at Cologne in want and miſery.

RICHELIEU did not long ſurvive his victim, ſeized with a conſumption, he terminated at the age of fifty-eight his long and immortal miniſtry. He has been cenſured for his voluptuous life, his pride and mean jealouſy of men of talents, his paſſion for revenge, his ingratitude for the uſe of poiſon and poniards, and in ſhort for all the exceſſes of tyranny, but the ſtate was indebted to him for its greatneſs, the throne for its authority, the nation for her tranquility, the people for their delivery from the oppreſſion of a number of maſters, the marine for its re-eſtabliſhment, commerce for its firſt progreſs, learning and arts for the foundation of their glory. The ſtate remained ſubject to his influence after his death, and even after that of Lewis, who ſoon followed his miniſter.

THIS prince has not been much admired, he was however intrepid to a degree of temerity, his morals were irreproachable and he had a juſt way of thinking. The violence he did his inclination in conſtantly ſupporting a miniſter

becauſe

becauſe he thought him uſeful to his country, his fortitude in giving up to this primary object of princes his diſguſt and hatred; his reſolution in reſiſting the inſinuations of friendſhip, love and ſuperſtition that oppoſed Richelieu; in ſhort, the aſtoniſhing heroiſm in ſacrificing for twenty years all the ſenſibility of a private man to the glory of the monarchy and the happineſs of the people is the only inſtance of the kind we meet with in hiſtory, and exalts this prince above the common race of kings.

SPAIN.

While France thus roſe in greatneſs, Spain viſibly declined under Philip III and his weak miniſter; the death of Henry, the wrong policy of his widow, the troubles produced by the inſolence of Concini and the tumultuous adminiſtration of Luynes in vain afforded opportunities for accompliſhing the great projects of Philip II: the duke of Lerma purſued them but without capacity, and the misfortunes of France added nothing to the proſperity of Caſtile. The monarch, engroſſed by all the littleneſs of ſuperſtition, abandoned the care of his glory to diſtant vice-roys, who imagined they ſerved their maſter by covering their pride and violence with the ſanction of his name. The duke of Oſſona vice-roy of Naples, Peter of Toledo governor of Milan and the marquis of Bedmar ambaſſador at Venice endeavoured, without the conſent of their court, to ſubject all Italy to Spain: Venice, whom her arſenal ſuperior to the reſt of the world, her

her fleets, her troops and above all the wiſdom of her ſenate made capable of deſtroying this project, was devoted to ruin. Bedmar undertook to ſet the city in flames by the hands of a few wretches whom he had gained over by money and promiſes; Peter of Toledo was to ſend by private roads a body of reſolute ſoldiers; Oſſona, under the pretext of clearing the gulph of pirates that infeſted it, held a ſquadron in readineſs. The forces of the army and navy were to enter Venice at the very moment the plot was ripe for execution, and uniting their arms with the torches of the conſpirators muſt eaſily make themſelves maſters of an immenſe city attacked by ſurprize and devoted to flames and ſlaughter. The hand of Bedmar regulated, directed and united the different parts of this machine, and while with prodigious activity he ſet in motion ſuch various ſprings, he concealed them from the moſt penetrating eyes under an appearance of profound tranquility. The day previous to the execution of the plot was arrived, and the council of ten ſtill remained in perfect ſecurity. The arſenal was filled with enemies ready to deſtroy it, the poniards were whetted againſt the ſenators, and the torches deſtined to ſet fire to the palace of St. Mark were already prepared. Venice, that for twenty centuries had triumphed over the forces of the greateſt empires, was now to periſh in one night by the hands of a few deſpicable villains. The remorſe of one of the conſpirators, who was ſhocked at the image of his country expiring in flames and ſwimming in

blood,

blood, ſaved the ſtate and covered Bedmar, Peter and Oſſona with ſhame and confuſion. The conſpiracy, in the mean time, having been expoſed to the eyes of all Europe, injured the power it was calculated to ſecure, becauſe it threw an odium on the court whoſe ambaſſadors diſgraced their characters by ſuch enormous crimes. Bedmar was conſoled under public deteſtation with the Roman purple with which Philip rewarded him; Oſſona effaced the ſcandal of being his accomplice by the vigour of his adminiſtration which made the fleet of Naples formidable to the Turks and barbarians. Peter of Toledo purſued the ſame deſigns with reſpect to other princes, treated the ſovereigns of Italy with arrogance, renewed his attempts upon Valteline; and meeting with little ſucceſs in that quarter, endeavoured to avenge himſelf on the duke of Savoy, whom he commanded with an air of authority to diſband his troops. Finding in the reſolution of the duke a reſiſtance he had foreſeen, he advanced towards Piedmont at the head of his beſt troops, dictated the moſt imperious laws, and flattered himſelf with the hopes of ſoon ſeeing that ſovereign a vaſſal to his prince. Charles Emanuel now ready to ſink under the power of his enemy, raiſed himſelf by the noble efforts of courage with which he oppoſed his misfortunes; being afterwards joined by Leſdiguieres who fought for the intereſts of France in oppoſition to the will of France herſelf, he defeated the Spaniard who retired with the ſhame of his imprudent pride. Philip, inſenſible to the falſe meaſures in which he was engaged by the delegates of his authority, conſoled

him

himſelf at the foot of the altar, and in the practice of venerable piety terminated an inglorious and unhappy reign.

PHILIP IV inheriting the weakneſs of his father ſoon found his hand fatigued with the ſcepter, and committed it to the famous Olivares. This miniſter, at a very early period of life, had been employed in important embaſſies and diſplayed great talents; this encouraged Spain with the hopes of ſeeing her glory revived. Struck with the errors of the duke of Lerma, he purſued different meaſures, and depending on the weakneſs of Lewis and his mother, he was reſolved to make advantage of the complaiſance of that court. But at the moment Philip aſcended the throne, the ſyſtem of France was entirely changed. A ſuperior genius had taken the reins of government and given it a new form. Olivares was quickly ſenſible of the revolution, and was in hopes of preventing the advantages it might produce by ſupporting the calviniſts who had taken up arms. But formed to proceed with that ſlowneſs which acts only by halves and loſes every thing, he gave ſufficient protection to that party to make known his deſigns and too little to procure ſucceſs. When he ſaw Rochelle fallen under the power of his rival, inſtead of employing all the forces of Spain againſt a kingdom agitated by twenty different factions, he ſuffered himſelf to be deluded by the pretended moderation of the French miniſter, who affected to deſire nothing but peace, and by that duplicity gained time to appeaſe the domeſtic troubles. When

he

he was better acquainted with the deſigns of Richelieu, he had recourſe to the only expedient left, he fomented the diſſatisfaction of the great and inflamed their reſentment againſt the miniſter of Lewis; but incorigible in his proceedings he diſguſted them by his infidelity and arrogance, and fruſtrated the deſigns of Mary of Medicis, Gaſton, Soiſſons and Montmorency by the trifling ſuccours he ſent them. When he was preparing to begin the war that proved ſo tedious and fatal to Spain, inſtead of conciliating the German princes, he provoked them by an exertion of authority that violated the law of nations. A party of Spaniards carried off the elector of Treves from the midſt of his dominions, and this violence, beſides raiſing many enemies againſt his maſter, furniſhed alſo a pretext for making war againſt him. Vitry defeated his armies as they imprudently entered Provence; Rohan whoſe attachment he might have conciliated and whom he made an enemy, ſtopped his progreſs in the Alps; the ſucceſs at Corby, which Madrid boaſted of ſo much, was followed by misfortunes that effaced the remembrance of that advantage; Rouſillon was a ſcene of daily misfortunes; Savoy divided between the regent and the princes, became the theatre of new diſappointments.

The war renewed againſt the Dutch was at firſt favourable and raiſed great hopes. The harmony which danger produced and made that nation ſo formidable, was altered by extraordinary proſperity. Theological diſputes had divided the people. The mild doctrine of Arminius had made

made numerous proſelytes, whom Gomar, zealous for the rigid doctrine of Calvin, purſued with all the ſeverity of that god his own gloomy imagination had formed. If the principal citizens had adopted more humane opinions, the populace more violent in proportion to their ignorance of the ſubject of thoſe diſputes, were powerfully attached to the old doctrine, aud in their zeal diſplayed all the rage and violence natural to that claſs of mankind. Maurice inflamed with the deſire of enſlaving his country that he had defended, fomented thoſe quarrels with the view of involving the ſtate in general confuſion, imagining that thoſe troubles would afford him an opportunity of depriving his nation of the precious bleſſing ſhe had lately recovered. But he ſaw with ſecret rage all his artful manœuvres fruſtrated by a venerable old man. The wiſdom of Barnevelt had preſided over the republic in her infant ſtate; he had guided her ſteps before ſhe acquired ſtrength or firmneſs; his care procured her powerful allies, and, while the princes of Orange by their courage repulſed the Spaniards, the capacity of Barnevelt made commerce flouriſh, maintained order and united a part of Europe in the defence of his country. This magiſtrate having perceived the deſigns of Maurice haſtily concluded the treaty of Breda in order to make that ambitious prince lay down his arms; and while he readily did juſtice to the great actions of his enemy, he ſtill kept a watchful eye on his proceedings. Maurice, enraged to find himſelf derected, was reſolved to deſtroy him and

raiſed

raiſed the formidable arms of religion againſt him.

The doctrine of Arminius was favoured by Barnevelt as being more mild, more ſociable and more analogus to that to leration of all religions, which he conſidered as the baſis of the proſperity of his country. This was the pretext employed by the prince. Miniſters, either fanatics or bribed to his intereſt, repreſented the magiſtrate as an impious wretch, and, after making him odious to a ſuperſtitious populace, added atrocious calumnies aginſt him. He was accuſed of endeavours to deſtroy his own work and deliver up his conntry to Philip; upon this accuſation an out-cry was raiſed againſt him on all ſides, and the old man laden with years and glory after being tryed by judges, ſold to his enemies, loſt his head on a ſcaffold. Grotius, of whoſe friendſhip he was worthy, was involved in his misfortune and cloſely impriſoned; he eſcaped death however by the ingenious tenderneſs of his wife.

The tyranny of Maurice was become the ſource of various troubles, from which the court of Madrid expected to reap advantage, and thoſe hopes were farther augmented by the talents of Spinola. The abilities of that general and his ſucceſs in fact ſupported the honour of the arms of Caſtile. The ſtatholder was vanquiſhed in turn, the capacity of the Italian deprived him of Breda, and this misfortune, which the prince did not ſurvive, filled Holland with alarms; but Frederic Henry, the brother and ſucceſſor of Maurice revived the hopes of his country and

reſtored

reſtored her to her former ſuperiority. Groll, Bois-le-duc and Veſel, reduced by his valouror ſurpriſed by his dexterity, raiſed the reputation of the new republic to a higher pitch than ever, and made Madrid tremble for the fate of the neighbouring provinces. The imprudence of recalling Spinola completed the misfortunes of Spain; Frederic, finding in the ſucceſſors of that general no talents to check the rapidity of his conqueſts, entered Brabant and Auſtrian-gelderland, retook Breda, and crowned his exploits by the important conqueſt of Maſtricht. Tromp, who from the ſtation of a common ſailor raiſed himſelf to the command of the Dutch fleet, ſeconded the ſtatholder, ſpread terror on the coaſts of Flanders, and, by a victory near the Downs, gave a blow to the navy of Spain that ſhe never recovered. The ſame ſucceſs attended the Dutch in all ſeas; in America, Africa and Aſia, their ſquadrons ſeized upon moſt of the iſlands that eſcaped their firſt conqueſts.

In the midſt of a war unfortunate in every quarter, Olivares governed the provinces of the monarchy with a ſcepter of iron: faithfully adhering to the plan of Philip II, he advanced towards deſpotiſm by injuſtice and ſeverity. He multiplied taxes, authoriſed the licentiouſneſs of the troops, and harraſſed the people by military executions. A general diſcontent prevailed, and the nation unanimouſly wiſhed for an opportunity of ſhaking off the yoke; Catalonia ſet the example and ſhewed the facility of ſucceeding. A body of peaſants as they were entering Barce-

lona happened to meet with ſome ſoldiers at the gates of the city who had treated them ill in the country; at the ſight of thoſe plunderers the reſentment of the peaſants revived, and in the firſt emotions of their rage they fell upon them, killed ſome and put the reſt to flight. Animated by this ſucceſs and apprehenſive of what they might ſuffer for their proceedings, they entered the city and invited the people to aſſiſt them in expelling their tyrants. The ſedition ſpread in a moment through every quarter; the rebels, whoſe numbers continually increaſed, marched to the palace of the governor, forced their way through the guards, obliged him to fly and purſued him to the water-ſide where they butchered him; then running through the city they put every Spaniard they met to the ſword, and in the ſpace of one day neither the arms of Caſtile nor any other enſign of her power and authority was to be ſeen in Barcelona. The flames were rapidly communicated through the whole province, and that rich portion of the monarchy of Philip was diſmembered from the throne and annexed to the dominions of Lewis.

PORTUGAL.

THE news of the revolt of Catalonia produced a revolution of far greater importance in Liſbon. Portugal ſeverely felt the power of the miniſter of Madrid. The dutcheſs of Mantua, who had been appointed vice-roy, was far from enjoying the honours of her place. The ſupreme authority was lodged with Vaſconcellos a ſubaltern tyrant,

tyrant, whoſe ſoul was as baſe and groveling as his origin. This wretch was a ſpy to Olivares the miniſter of his cruelty, an informer againſt the great and a tyrant over the people. He had no feelings for the unfortunate, was greedy of their property, prodigal of their blood, and became an object of horror and deteſtation to his country, who ſecretly ſighed for a deliverer. The wiſhes of the public were fixed upon John of Braganza, the ſon of that Catherine who was obliged to give up her claims to Philip II. Braganza was affable, generous, humane and even timid, he had every quality neceſſary for forming an excellent king, but he had neither the talents or reſolution requiſite to force his way to a throne. His character being known at Madrid the court was under no apprehenſions from him. Excluded from any command or authority, he was ſuffered to enjoy his immenſe poſſeſſions at Villacioſa, a place remote from Liſbon, where he was in a manner adored for his virtues. John had married a Spaniſh lady of the illuſtrious family of Medina; this alliance augmented the ſecurity of Olivares: it was thence however the blow proceeded that afterwards ſubverted the Spaniſh authority. The dutcheſs inflamed with a noble ambition, which ſhe ſupported by eminent qualities, and thinking that ſhe owed more to her huſband than her country, impatiently wiſhed to ſee herſelf ſeated with him on a throne to which he was called by the laws and voice of the people.

PINTO ſteward to the duke had the ſame views, and with the moſt ardent zeal united all

the talents neceſſary to make it ſucceſsful. As the general diſcontent ſeemed to preſent a deciſive opportunity, the faithful domeſtic communicated his plan to the duke who, without giving his conſent in expreſs terms, left him at liberty to proceed. Pinto did not loſe a moment, the principal nobility and particularly Almeida, a venerable old man, who by his inflexible virtue was no leſs dear to his country than formidable to the tyrant, the heads of the clergy with the archbiſhop of Liſbon, the ſuperiors of the monks and friars and the chief citizens were ready to declare themſelves. The buſtle and preparations neceſſary in ſuch an important affair could not be entirely concealed from the numerous ſpies of vaſconcellos; he immediately communicated his ſuſpicions to his protector. Olivares was terrified at the conſequences of his imprudent ſecurity and confidence, and, conſidering that violence would be uſeleſs againſt a prince ſurrounded by vaſſals that idolized him, he endeavoured artfully to ſeduce him from Villacioſa. He wrote him a moſt flattering letter, highly applauding his fidelity, and ſent him a patent for the place of inſpector-general of the fortifications of the kingdom. He begged of him, in the name of his maſter immediately to viſit thoſe places, as they were in a very wretched condition, and required to be carefully ſurveyed by a perſon of his penetration and vigilance; but at the ſame time the miniſter diſpatched expreſs orders to all the governors to arreſt Braganza the moment he ſhould appear.

The duke perceiving the ſnare, employed the money of Olivares in conciliating new friends, and when he viſited the fortreſſes was followed by ſuch a numerous train, that no governor dared to execute the orders of the court. Through every place he paſſed, he gained the affection of the nobles by his affability, the citizens and people by his liberality, and made uſe of the authority of his commiſſion in conferring the moſt conſiderable places on perſons devoted to his intereſt. When he entered Liſbon, he was received with acclamations of joy by the inhabitants, and the delay he had made there, under the pretence of paying his reſpects to the governor, gave him an opportunity of concerting meaſures with the conſpirators. But he was ſcarce returned to Villacioſa when he received letters from the miniſter that threw him into great perplexity. Olivares finding himſelf detected, laid aſide all artifice, and ſent him orders to come to court to give an account of his conduct. The duke was now more at a loſs how to act than ever. He knew not whether it was beſt to riſk his tranquility, his fortune, that of his family and friends, their lives and his own on the doubtful event of a conſpiracy, or endeavour to diſſipate the ſuſpicions of a mercileſs court. The generous dutcheſs, to whom he communicated his doubts and apprehenſions, did not heſitate a moment to declare her ſentiments: ſhe ſhewed him that chains, inſults and even death were inevitably prepared for him at Madrid, and that Spain would ſtigmatize his memory with the infamous name of traitor, and

Portugal for ever abhor that of a coward, who had ſo baſely deſerted her; ſhe repreſented the ſplendor and glory of a crown, the temples of his conſort and children adorned with the diadem, his poſterity ſeated on a throne eternally bleſſing the hand that raiſed them to ſuch an exalted rank. She then reminded him of the pleaſure of delivering his oppreſſed country, of breaking the chains of ſo many innocent people, of liberating a whole nation from diſgrace and ſlavery, and eſpecially of daily promoting the happineſs of thouſands.

Her prayers, her careſſes and tears at length determined Braganza to the purſuit of glory, and the wiſhed for conſent was diſpatched to Liſbon. Pinto immediately communicated the news to the conſpirators, who received it with tranſports of joy. The neceſſity of preparing every engine obliged them to moderate their impatience, and defer the execution of this great deſign for eight days. During all the intermediate time, the project, though known to four hundred perſons of different age, rank and intereſt, was concealed with the moſt profound and aſtoniſhing ſecrecy from the eyes of numbers of informers. Similar zeal ſeemed to animate both ſexes, and inſpire them with equal diſcretion and courage. The marchioneſs of Villena herſelf, put arms into the hands of her children, ſaying: "Go, "my ſons, and fight againſt our tyrants, if you "die in this glorious undertaking, be aſſured, "that your mother will not ſurvive you." In the morning of the appointed day, the conſpirators having divided themſelves into four parties,

advanced

advanced by different ways towards the palace, where they met, and upon a ſignal given, proclaimed Braganza with loud acclamations. The nobles led by Almeida diſperſed the German centinels that guarded the avenues of the palace, and then immediately attacked the Spaniſh guards who, after ſome reſiſtance, were forced to give way to their valour. At the ſame time, the archbiſhop of Liſbon appeared with all the enſigns and pomp of his dignity, and gave the ſanction of religion to the conſpiracy; the heads of the citizens aſſembled the different companies and marched in proceſſion before them. The monks with a ſword in one hand and a crucifix in the other, attacked the Spaniards and inflamed the populace. In a few minutes an immenſe multitude was gathered who with repeated outcries devoted the tyrant to death. The palace was invaded on every ſide, the ſecretary of the miniſter, who had been the general inſtrument of the exceſſes of his maſter, fell covered with wounds; Vaſconcellos in vain endeavoured to conceal himſelf; after a number of poniards had been buried in his heart, his body was then thrown into the ſtreet and ſuffered every indignity from the rage of the people. The vice-roy ſhut up in her apartments, was compelled to ſign the order for giving up the citadel, and the baſe compliance of the governor ſurrendered it to the conſpirators. Before the cloſe of the day, Liſbon had entirely changed her maſter, and the blood of two wretches only was ſhed in effecting ſo great a revolution.

The duke in the mean time was waiting at Villacioſa, for the news of an event that muſt either raiſe him to a throne or a ſcaffold. The cries, the reſpect and tears of the meſſengers that were diſpatched to tender him the crown, ſoon informed him of his glorious deſtiny; and the news quickly ſpreading from the palace to the city, the name of the new king was echoed through every ſtreet. The monarch, who could ſcarce paſs through the crouds that flocked round him to teſtify their zeal and attachment, was met on the road by his ſubjects, who were impatient to expreſs their joy. He entered Liſbon in triumph amidſt the acclamations of the citizens. An immenſe body of the people conducted him to the palace, where his firſt care was to reward the faithful Pinto, virtuous Almeida, intrepid Archbiſhop and all thoſe who had been inſtrumental to his happineſs. The ſame revolution took place in all the cities of the monarchy, the colonies imitated the example of the parent ſtate, and in the ſpace of one year, John ſaw all the poſſeſſions of his anceſtors united under his ſcepter.

Olivares, having loſt Portugal by his imprudence, meanly revenged himſelf on the brother of the new king, whom he threw into priſon, and before he would try the fate of arms, had recourſe to conſpiracies. He had the art to form one, in which he intereſted the neareſt relations of Braganza, and the chief inquiſitor; but the detection of the plot ſerved only to ruin the accomplices of the miniſter, and give greater ſtability

bility to the throne of his enemy. John, having occaſion for ſupport, made a ſtrict alliance with France; and this revolution not only deprived Caſtile of a crown, but ſtrengthened Richelieu with a new and powerful ally.

All thoſe misfortunes did not reform the conduct of Olivares, and the allies of Spain were no better uſed. Charles IV of Lorraine, who became the victim of his attachment to Philip, was treated more like a ſubject than a ſovereign. Mary of Medicis, after loſing the Infanta Eugenia, by whoſe friendſhip ſhe was ſupported at Bruſſels, ſunk into diſtreſs and quitted the Netherlands; the duke of Monaco, who had been long a zealous friend to that prince, grown weary of the hardſhips he was made to ſuffer, deſerted him for ever, and placed himſelf and his city under the protection of France. The princes of Savoy provoked at the imperious pride of the ſame monarch, renounced his alliance, and rendered important ſervices to Richelieu, who gained them over to the intereſt of his maſter.

Philip at length opened his eyes and reſumed the ſcepter out of the hands of Olivares; the changes that happened in France, made him hope, that it would be more ſucceſsful in his own. Lewis and his miniſter had finiſhed their career; a minor was upon the throne, and the ſiſter of Philip, who had the art to remove the boundaries that her dying conſort had ſet to her authority, now commanded with abſolute authority; but the court of Madrid ſoon found herſelf diſappointed in her expectations; the genius of Richelieu ſtill

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ſurvived, though he was no more; it ſubſiſted in the council, and ſeemed to riſe from the tomb to attack Spain. Ann unmindful of the ties of blood thought of nothing but her duty, ſhe had the fortitude to adopt and follow the projects of the miniſter who had ſo cruelly perſecuted her. Mazarin, the confident of Richelieu, was placed at the head of the council, and the war againſt Auſtria was purſued with the ſame vigour. The beginning of the regency was diſtinguiſhed by celebrated victories. D'Anguien, the ſon of Condé, at the age of twenty marched againſt the flower of the Spaniſh infantry, who were advancing to beſiege Rocrois, and at ſo early a period of life, gave evident proofs of ſuperior genius. He triumphed over the experience of an old general, routed and deſtroyed thoſe famous troops that were ſo formidable to Europe, and by his clemency added new luſtre to his glorious victory. The young hero, no leſs capable of profiting by ſucceſs than producing it, ſeized upon Thionville, made himſelf maſter of the principal places of the dutchy of Luxembourg, and ſuſpended his conqueſts only to repair the loſſes in Germany. Gaſton, in proſperity, now was become the enemy of a court that had deceived him in his misfortunes; he attacked the Low Countries with heroic valour, and obliged Gravelines to ſurrender, notwithſtanding the ſtrength of the fortifications and the gallant defence and fidelity of Solis. Gaſſion ſeconded him and ſubjected one half of Flanders to the authority of Lewis. The French arms were equally ſucceſsful in Italy, where prince

prince Thomas of Savoy preſerved Montferrat; on the Alps where Choiſeul-Praſlin ſeized upon Stura; in Catalonia, where the ſame Choiſeul took Roſes, and merited the marſhal's batoon; where Harcourt, victorious at Liorens, diſappointed a dangerous conſpiracy againſt France. The defeat and raſing of the ſiege of Lerida were but ſlight checks to the courſe of thoſe proſperities; they were carried to the moſt glorious height at Sens, where d'Anguien, now become prince of Condé, gave the laſt blow to the Spaniſh infantry; at the ſame time young Brezé purſued the ſhips of Philip in all the European ſeas, ravaged the coaſts of Andalouſia and Valencia, triumphed at Carthagena and periſhed in the victory he obtained in the view of Italy.

The unlucky ſtars of Philip hung over him in every quarter. The army he ſent to Portugal was defeated on the borders of that kingdom. A fiſherman raiſed the populace at Naples, pulled down the cuſtom houſe, annihilated the authority of the vice-roy and threatened the loſs of the kingdom. This ſingular man after delivering his country became ſuch an extravagant tyrant, that he was murdered by the very people who adored him a little before, and his death did not terminate the troubles of that great city; Guiſe by an expeditious march to that quarter occaſioned a ſecond inſurrection, and Spain could not haved preſerved that kingdom but for the falſe policy of Mazarin who deſerted that prince. In Holland Frederic Henry rapidly ſubjected the Maes and the Scheld; and the Netherlands, in

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all probability, would have been reduced by Gaſton and the Statholder, but for the policy of the Dutch, who dreaded ſo near a vicinity with France.

William II heir to the dignity of his father, revived all his genius and valour, and his continual ſucceſſes deprived the court of Madrid of all hopes of reducing under the yoke a people who had heroes ſucceſſively at their head. The famous Tromp, in the mean while, continued his cruiſes and ſpread terror on all the coaſts of the Spaniſh poſſeſſions; in America the ocean and Mediterranean, he attacked the fleets of the enemy and raiſed trophies to his country. Spain ſtripped of part of her colonies, trembling for the fate of the reſt and alarmed even for the continent, thought herſelf happy in terminating a war in which ſhe had loſt her glory, her riches and moſt gallant defenders. Taking advantage of the uneaſineſs the ſtates ſhewed at the proſperity of Lewis, ſhe entered into a private negociation with them which ſhe carefully concealed from Mazarin, and concluded a treaty at Breda that divided them from their powerful ally. The freedom and independence of the republic was acknowleged; ſhe obtained the moſt advantageous privileges, and at length reaped the fruits of her blood and labours after a conteſt of eighty years. Philip, having got rid of thoſe obſtinate enemies, now flattered himſelf with the hopes of humbling France in his turn, and diſregarding the treaty that gave peace to the reſt of Europe continued a war in which he met with new misfortunes.

GERMANY AND SWEDEN.

RODOLPH II already ſtripped of Auſtria and Hungary loſt alſo Bohemia, who grew weary of his indolence; his brother beſieged him in the capital of that kingdom, forced him to give up that ſecond crown and reduced him to the title of emperor. Thoſe misfortunes did not affect him much, he found a pleaſure in being eaſed of the cares of government and devoted himſelf entirely to the ſciences which he cultivated to his death.

MATHIAS now become head of the empire, and maſter of Auſtria and the kingdoms dependent on her authority, formed the double project of ſeizing on Tranſilvania and making himſelf abſolute in his dominions. As he reſolved to accompliſh his ends by ſecret meaſures, he favoured the rebels of Tranſilvania, artfully conciliated friends in Hungary, made religion uſeful in Bohemia, and in Germany exerted the influence of inveſtures or reverſionary favours. Being ſuddenly ſeized with a conſumption and having no poſterity, he appointed the archduke de Gratz to ſucceed him in his extenſive dominions. By his dexterity he ſurmounted thoſe obſtacles with which the pretentions of the Spaniſh branch oppoſed this arrangement; he triumphed with equal ſucceſs over the difficulties raiſed by the empire, and the fortunate Ferdinand was elected king of the Romans.

THE two princes then diſdained to conceal their deſigns; Ferdinand, who was of a more

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ſevere and haughty diſpoſition, violated the laws, annihilated the privileges of the nation, and openly diſplayed the principles of deſpotiſm. Bohemia revolted, and in order to deprive the people of all hopes of a reconciliation with the ſovereign, the rebels murdered the commiſſaries of the emperor, took up arms and choſe Erneſt De Mansfeld for their commander.

ERNEST was an illegitimate offspring of the illuſtrious family of Mansfeld, and at firſt attached himſelf to the Houſe of Auſtria. His capacity, valour and important ſervices gained him admiration at the court of Vienna, who promiſed to legitimate him and put him in poſſeſſion of the eſtates of his family. But the intereſt of that court having violated promiſes made by gratitude, Erneſt had conceived an implacable hatred againſt Mathias, and extending his averſion to the very religion of the Houſe of Auſtria, made an open profeſſion of lutheraniſm. Raviſhed with an opportunity of gratifying his revenge and ſerving thoſe of his ſect, he flew to Bohemia, where his talents had raiſed him to the command of the rebels. Thus both ſides prepared for a war which religion, that is a cloke to the moſt violent paſſions, made ſo long and bloody. This war kindled in a corner of Germany, ſet the greater part of Europe in flames, produced the moſt rapid and cruel revolutions and occaſioned the treaty of Weſtphalia, which terminated it after thirty years, regulated the Germanic body, and made an alteration in the intereſts of our hemiſpere.

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On the death of Mathias the troubles broke out. The Bohemians encouraged by Mansfeld declared that Ferdinand had forfeited his pretenſions, and invited the elector Palatine to the throne. Gabor, who had lately ſucceeded Francis Balory in Tranſilvania, animated the Hungarians, perſuaded them to reſume their right of election, and procured the crown for himſelf. Chriſtian of Brunſwick adminiſtrator of Magdebourg, urged the lutherans to ſecure the liberty of their religion, and under that pretence barbarouſly murdered the catholic clergy and plundered their temples. The whole body of the proteſtants, at the inſtigation of that artful and cruel prince, took up arms againſt the the new emperor and inſiſted on having a head of their own ſect. Thus all the crowns of Ferdinand tottered at the ſame time and that of Bohemia ſeemed already fallen.

The elector Palatine heſitated to accept the ſcepter that was offered. Powerful, happy and quiet he conceived the dreadful conſequence of ſuch a ſtep, ſhould it prove unſucceſful. The intreatries of Elizabeth his wife, daughter to the monarch of England, who wiſhed to ſee her huſband a king, the hopes of being ſupported by his father-in-law, the wiſhes of the proteſtants, and the ſplendor of a crown all contributed to ſtifle the ſuggeſtions of prudence and made that prince a prey to ambition. Ferdinand, in the mean time, was negociating; he had gained over Maximilian of Bavaria, a prince of the family of Frederic, by promiſing him the electorate of which he was reſolved to ſtrip his brother, and by this important ſtroke he divided the

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two branches of the Palatinate and acquired an able captain. The two oppoſite armies entered Bohemia, commanded by princes of the ſame blood and both impatient for the conflict. A bloody battle was fought under the walls of Prague, and a compleat victory on the ſide of the imperialiſts diſſipated the party of Frederic. At the ſame time Gabor, after ſome ſucceſs, was overpowered in Hungary by the abilities of Valſtein. Valſtein who, from the condition of a private gentleman of Bohemia raiſed himſelf by his merit to the higheſt military rank, diſplayed talents equal to thoſe of the greateſt commanders. This general, at the head of thirty thouſand men devoted to his orders, purſued Gabor, harraſſed, diſtreſſed and obliged him to renounce the throne he had aſcended. By orders of Ferdinand he then marched haſtily to Bohemia where he found Mansfeld ſtill formidable at the head of the remains of the rebel party; he defeated him in ſeveral engagements, drove him from river to river, and after totally routing him at Deſſau, at length obliged that adventurer to take refuge in Italy where a ſudden death, that created ſome ſuſpicions of violence, put an end to his misfortunes.

THE conqueror then immediately marched againſt Brunſwick and the other proteſtants of the empire; he took Halberſtad by ſtorm, ſurpriſed the fortreſs of Hall by ſtratagem, and ravaged all the territories of Magdebourg in the very face of the two armies that came to defend it. Thence advancing towards the North, he drove the

the duke of Mecklenburgh out of his dominions, ſeized upon Pomerania, penetrated into Lower Saxony, laid waſte and ſubjected the borders of the Baltic, and in three campaings made himſelf maſter of all the country ſituate between the Weſer and the mouth of the Oder.

FERDINAND now exerciſed the moſt terrible vengeance. By his own ſingle authority he put Frederic under the ban of the empire, and gave his title and territories to Maximilian; he ſtripped the duke of Mecklenburgh and rewarded the ſevices of Valſtein with his ſovereignty. He drove out the adminiſtrator from Magdeburg in order to eſtabliſh an archbiſhop there; he iſſued the moſt ſevere edicts againſt the reformed party; and, under pretence of ſecuring the rights of the triumphant religion, oppreſſed Germany with the yoke of deſpotiſm.

SPAIN was united to Ferdinand by blood, intereſt and ambition. France had been long governed by a timid prince and weak miniſters, and ſaw without concern a power daily growing formidable. James at firſt ſhewed nothing but barren pity for the misfortunes of his ſon-in-law, and when he afterwards was preparing to ſend him aſſiſtance, death put a ſtop to his proceedings.

THE throne of the ſultans ſhaken by the ſtrangeſt revolutions was happy in not being attacked by a foreign power. Poland and Sweden, diſtracted and ravaged by a mutual and hereditary war, took no part in the affairs of the South. The king of Denmark more clear-ſighted and

prudent, was the only perſon who foreſaw the injurious effects that muſt reverberate on the neighbouring ſtates from the ſlavery of the Germanic body. But what forces had he to oppoſe the power of the ambitious family? The apprehenſions of Chriſtian however urged him to make ſome effort, and collecting all the ſtrength of his kingdom, he entered into a confederacy with the oppreſſed princes, which the catholics themſelves ſecretly favoured; but the fortune of Valſtein ſtill prevailed, Chriſtian was defeated, ſtripped of his poſſeſſions in Germany and ſaw the victor enter Denmark, penetrate into the heart of his dominions, and in order to preſerve a remnant of his monarchy, he was forced to ſubmit to a peace that humbled his throne and ruined his allies.

The Houſe of Auſtria was now in the meridian of greatneſs, her ſubjects were inſlaved and her enemies humbled; the elector Palatine lived in Holland; the dukes of Mecklenburgh and Pomerania were afraid to appear, the diets of the empire were no longer aſſembled, and the expiring liberties of the Germanic body ſeemed to threaten a part of Europe with the ſame misfortune.

The miniſtry of France was now however changed. A man of ſuperior genius was at the head of that kingdom and underſtood its true intereſts. He employed the firſt years of his authority in appeaſing the commotions and repairing the forces of the ſtate: as ſoon as he had effected this and found himſelf abſolute

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maſter of an extenſive and quiet monarchy, he then meditated how to reſtore its glory; and, perceiving that the firſt ſtep neceſſary to be taken was to leſſen the exorbitant power of the emperor, he ſecretly devoted his attention to that object.

ANOTHER ſtorm was riſen in the North; Sweden now poſſeſſed a hero. Guſtavus Adolphus, who at a very early period aſcended the throne that his father had uſurped, found it ſinking on all ſides. Sigiſmond, at the head of the Polanders, cut the Swediſh troops to pieces. Denmark revived her ancient pretenſions and menaced Stockholm. Twenty different factions, encouraged by the weakneſs inſeparable from a minority, diſtracted and rent the country, and to compleat the calamity, the council of the regency was compoſed of perſons weak and diſunited. The young prince at the proſpect of ſo many misfortunes conceived the deſign of having himſelf exempted from the laws, and taking the reins of government into his own hands. Hapily he had diſplayed under his father what might he expected from his capacity. A little before the death of Charles the Danes had beſieged the city of Calmar, the king having neither troops or money ſaw little hopes of ſaving the place; and had it ſurrendered, all the country as far as Stockholm muſt have fallen a prey to the enemy. In this general conſternation Guſtavus, at the age of ſixteen, without order or conſulting any perſon, had haſtily collected 1500 horſe. At the head of this ſmall body, having dexterouſly

concealed his march, he ſuddenly attacked a conſiderable poſt of the Danes, and by this unexpected blow ſtruck ſuch a terror into their camp, that he forced them to raiſe the ſiege with precipitation; taking advantage of this ſucceſs he purſued and drove them from a place of conſiderable ſtrength and ſeized upon the iſland of Oeland, a poſt of the greateſt importance.

The remembrance of this action that had recently happened, the misfortunes of the adminiſtration, the hopes of a government leſs agitated, the perſonal accompliſhments of the young monarch, and that inexpreſſible air and manner which proclaim ſuperior greatneſs of ſoul all pleading in his favour, the nation ſilenced the rigour of the laws, and armed Guſtavus with all the authority of the throne. The prince ſoon juſtified the confidence of his ſubjects. The Danes were the moſt troubleſome and urgent enemies, becauſe their fleets attacked the Swedes with advantage as they had no ſhips to oppoſe them; while this reſource was wanting there could be no hopes of gaining any ſolid advantages, and peace was the only means of repairing the marine. With this view he negociated a treaty that freed him from that enemy, and recovered important places by ſacrificing a ſum of money that could be eaſily replaced. He then turned his arms againſt Ruſſia, an empire that was then without a maſter after having had ſix in four years who mutually deſtroyed each other. That nation had offered their throne to the brother of Guſ-

tavus,

tavus, but ſuſpecting the monarch of an intention to unite the crown with Sweden, they afterwards rejected the Swede and elected one of their countrymen. Guſtavus, under the pretext of avenging the cauſe of his brother, entered the neighbouring provinces and having eaſily defeated numerous forces that were undiſciplined, he obliged the czar to give him up the beſt part of Finland with Kolſhom, one of the keys of the empire.

The moſt important buſineſs ſtill remained. Sigiſmond had armed all Poland and menaced Sweden with an invaſion that might prove dangerous from the claims of that prince; Guſtavus reſolved to be before hand with him, and at the head of a ſmall body of ſelect troops ſuddenly attacked Livonia, then in ſubjection to Poland. Having made himſelf maſter of the capital of that province, he ſet ſail for Dantzick; and ſenſible that tranquility was neceſſary to the re-eſtabliſhment of his country, he offered peace to Sigiſmond on terms honourable to both crowns. All Poland in vain conjured the king to terminate a war that ravaged the North; Guſtavus found his adverſary inflexible, and was obliged to continue hoſtilities againſt him. A great man never makes war from choice; the vain ſplendor that accompanies victory is no compenſation in his eyes for the blood it coſts; but the more unwillingly he enters into thoſe horrors, the more terrible he ſhews himſelf when they are become neceſſary. Such was the conſtant plan and views of Guſtavus. When he

found it expedient to have recourſe to arms he did not loſe a moment in diſtreſſing his enemies; becauſe by compelling them to accept peace, he leſſened the calamities of mankind, which are always much greater in a long ſucceſſion of campaigns where the operations are weak and ſlow, than in a few that are purſued with vigour and diſpatch. Guſtavus, thus forced by the refuſal of Sigiſmond, returned to Livonia, routed the army of Lithuania, purſued them to the territories of the republic, and by a complete victory removed every obſtacle that could obſtruct his march to Warſovia. On the field of the battle he wrote to Sigiſmond and offered him peace a ſecond time; but finding him ſtill deaf to his propoſals, he ſuddenly attacked Dantzick and Elbing; Elbing was ſoon taken, and Dantzick, after a vigorous reſiſtance, experienced the ſame fame. Two wounds, retarded the progreſs of the victor, but his recovery reſtored their uſual ſuperiority to his arms, and a ſeries of ſucceſſes at length obliged Sigiſmond to liſten to peace which the conqueror ſtill offered. The articles were already drawn up, and the ſignature of both kings on the point of reſtoring tranquility to the North, when allof a ſudden the Polander refuſed to ſign and renewed the war.

The emperor, who imagined the greatneſs of his family depended on the confuſion of the neighbouring ſtates, had rekindled the hatred of Sigiſmond and revived his hopes by a promiſe of 12,000 men. Guſtavus in vain conjured that prince not to give ear to ſuch fatal council,

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in vain he intreated Ferdinand to give advice more worthy of a ſuperior of kings; the emperor diſdained to give him an anſwer, and the Polander replied only with inſults. Guſtavus now reſolved to loſe no time; by his activity, courage and prudence he ſoon recovered what he had ceded by the truce; after beſieging, ſurpriſing and ſtorming various places with almoſt equal ſucceſs, and ſubjecting all Pruſſia, he met the united armies of the emperor and Poland on the borders of the Noga. A bloody battle was fought here and victory remained a long time in ſuſpence.

The Swediſh cavalry gave way before that of Poland, and threatened the entire ruin of that part of the army. Guſtavus, who triumped with the infantry, diſpatched ſome battallions of the victorious wing, rallied the fugitives, fell with impetuoſity on the enemies whom confidence had thrown into diſorder, and drove into the midſt of them with ſome friends determined to conquer or die.

The victory was now no longer doubtful, the Polanders thought of nothing but flying from a conqueror who appeared to them ſomething ſuperior to man. Their monarch ſubmitted to his ill-fortune and eſcaped ruin by giving up that part of Pruſſia dependent on his ſcepter. Guſtavus had obliged the Danes to retire, repulſed the Ruſſians, humbled Poland and overcome the inflexibility of her ſovereign; he was ſtill however far from thinking that nothing more remained to be done. Ferdinand had treated him with inſolent contempt; that prince more over op-

preſſed the proteſtants, and his family were forming a power in Europe that threatened her freedom; zeal for his religious opinions, the ſecurity of the throne and honour of the diadem ſeemed, Guſtavus thought, to demand ſignal vengeance. He exulted in the idea of humbling an ambitious and haughty family, of breaking the chains of the empire, of re-eſtabliſhing unhappy ſovereigns and of reſtoring freedom and ſplendor to the religion he profeſſed. The Swediſh monarch was no way apprehenſive of the ſuperior numbers of the Auſtrian troops; he was perſuaded that an army of moderate ſtrength formed by continual ſervice, and united under a commander that was dear to them, muſt triumph over multitudes collected by mercenary motives. But the war required money and Sweden was exhauſted. Happily in another quarter of Europe a great miniſter poſſeſſed treaſures and was meditating the ſame project. The ties of mutual intereſt and eſteem that unite great minds, ſoon created a friendſhip between Guſtavus and Richelieu. A ſecret treary was made between them; France was to furniſh money and Sweden troops, in order to humble the Houſe of Auſtria. Guſtavus now no longer heſitated, but ſecretly prepared armies, fleets and allies.

Valstein continued his victories, and Stralſund was the only place in Pomerania that had not ſubmitted to the yoke. This imperial city, who by her commerce and advantageous ſituation had acquired a marine, wealth and fortifications, had attempted to defend her liberties; but after the fall of Mecklenburgh ſhe was inveſted and her

ruin

ruin ſeemed inevitable. Guſtavus, who looked upon this place as the key of Germany, was ſenſible of the neceſſity of defending it and ſheltered it under his protection. Fortune changed, and Valſtein, for the firſt time met with a repulſe. The Swede now laid aſide all reſerve, avowed his deſigns and openly declared himſelf the deliverer of the empire. He immediately ſent one of his generals before him to the Iſle of Rugen, where he appeared himſelf a few days after, and drove out the imperialiſts: he then re-imbarked his troops with expedition, purſued the enemy into Pomerania and entered Germany through that province. The ſovereign duke, like almoſt all the other princes of the Germanic body, ſerved the emperor with fear and reluctance; Guſtavus, convinced of the neceſſity of ſecuring a communication with Sweden, was of opinion that there are ſome times circumſtances in war, when, without being injuſt, it may be allowable to paſs beyond the ordinary rules of equity. The deliverance of the empire, which he had in view, not permitting him to leave the ducke in a ſuſpicious neutrality, he marched directly to the capital and obliged him to give up the regency of his dominions. He then viſited the different poſts of that province, and as he was preparing to enter Mecklenburgh publiſhed a manifeſto, in which he cited Ferdinand to reſtore the princes to their poſſeſſions, liberty of conſcience to the proteſtants and her privileges to the empire; he invited the members of the Germanic body to unite with him,

promiſing

promiſing not to lay down his arms until he ſhould free them from the yoke of their chief. The unfortunate Frederic immediately quitted Holland, and flew to the camp of the hero; the duke of Mecklenburgh threw himſelf into the arms of his defender, the adminiſtrator of Magdeburgh renewed the correſpondence he had in that city, the reſt of the proteſtants who, were afraid to betray any hopes of ſucceſs, ſecretly wiſhed proſperity to his arms, while the catholics unanimouſly condemned his temerity.

The king divided his army into three bodies, the firſt was appointed to guard Pomerania, the ſecond entered Brandenburgh, and the third marched to Mecklenburgh; alternately commanding in thoſe three places in perſon, he defeated the imperialiſts at Stetin, made himſelf maſter of the ſtrong holds in New March, drove out the garriſon of Valſtein at Mecklenburgh and re-inſtated the duke in his dominions. Thoſe important ſucceſſes acquired in half a campaign, revived the courage of the proteſtants, and ſo far inſpired them with hopes of pulling down the coloſſus that oppreſſed them, that the Houſe of Brunſwick and Heſſe had the reſolution to join the conqueror.

Gustavus, at the opening of the next campaign, was much more powerful, but had greater difficulties to ſurmount. The catholics were united againſt him, and the emperor grown prudent by his misfortunes, oppoſed him with better troops under a more able commander. Ferdinand hated Valſtein, whoſe talents he dreaded; he therefore made choice of Tilli, an old general diſtinguiſhed by long ſervices, whoſe experience made

made him a very proper perſon to check the impetuous ardour of a young conqueror. The proteſtants themſelves, whoſe intereſts the victorious Swede ſupported, augmented his difficulties; the elector of Brandenburgh was timid and irreſolute; the elector of Saxony was ſecretly his enemy, and endeavoured to obſtruct the intereſt of the common cauſe; for though he rejoiced at the difficulties of the court of Vienna, he was not pleaſed with the great proſperity of the king, becauſe he aſpired to the chief command of the confederates, and it mortified his ambition to ſee himſelf excluded from that honour by a foreigner. Guſtavus formed a ſcheme to fix the attachment of the former and make Tilli inſtrumental in forcing the other to remain faithful, by drawing that general into Saxony. He advanced at the head of a ſmall body againſt a place of no great importance, ſituate on the confines of that province. Tilli thinking to cruſh him followed with his whole army, and imagined he could not eſcape; but the Swede, by a ſtolen march, having the Oder between him and the imperialiſts, left Saxony open to them and ſecured Brandenburgh. Tilli, enraged to find himſelf outwitted, attacked Brandenburgh, carried that place, and put almoſt all the inhabitants to the ſword; he then entered Saxony which he found defenceleſs, and ravaged that country as the hero had foreſeen. The elector, in this deſperate ſituation, having no other reſource to ſave his country but the arms of Sweden, conjured the monarch to come to his relief. Guſtavus took care to be

paid

paid for his aſſiſtance by a treaty that made him maſter of all the forces of that prince; and having obtained hoſtages for the performance, he croſſed the Elb, received the two proteſtant electors in his camp, and advanced towards Leipſic, which Tilli had recently taken.

The king, being informed by his ſpies, that the enemy was to be reinforced by two conſiderable bodies, ſhewed the neceſſity of attacking him before a junction, and preparations were accordingly made for engaging. Tilli, on the other hand, fully perſuaded of the great merit of Guſtavus, did not think any forces too great to oppoſe him, and was for avoiding an action until the arrival of the expected reinforcements.

Camps, as well as courts, ſwarm with thoſe reptiles, who never ſpeak but with contempt of the enemies of the prince under whom they abjectly crouch. Raiſed to honours by meanneſs, thoſe baſe flatterers ſometimes dictate in councils of war, and by their ignorance and preſumption, too frequently occaſion misfortunes. Unanimous in their indignation againſt the opinion of the general, they were at a loſs, they ſaid, to know how he could, with the flower of the Auſtrian forces under his command, be under any apprehenſions from a ſpecies of adventurer, whoſe former ſucceſſes they attributed to nothing but the cowardice of the ſoldiers and the incapacity of the commanders who oppoſed him. They aſſerted that his raſhneſs would never be able to reſiſt the ſhock of an army ſo ſuperior in number, and marching under the auſpices of the greateſt

monarch

monarch in Europe. The old man born down by the torrent of opinions, complied with regret, and the battle was reſolved upon.

On leaving the town of Leipſic, a large plain appears commanded by a riſing ground. Tilli very judiciouſly took poſſeſſion of this eminence, where he drew up his army, which he covered with a powerful train of artillery. This advantageous ſituation made him maſter of the plain, whilſt the wind, that he alſo made favourable to himſelf, blew the ſmoke and duſt in the face of the enemy. The king drew up his troops at the foot of the hill, gave the command of the left wing to the two electors, and placed himſelf at the head of the right with Banſier his pupil, and in whoſe capacity he had placed the greateſt confidence. He obſerved that the nature of the ground had obliged Tilli to leave ſome vacant ſpace between the two Auſtrian wings; upon this diſcovery he immediately reſolved, if poſſible, to occupy that ſpace himſelf. By this bold manœuvre, he ſhould deprive his enemy of the advantage of the wind, cut off the communication between the two wings, throw the whole army into confuſion, and of courſe deſtroy it. This however, could only be executed with infantry, and ſhould the Auſtrian general diſcover the approach of any ſuch troops, he would not fail to oppoſe and fruſtrate the attempt. Guſtavus quickly conceived a ſtratagem to conceal the infantry he intended to employ from the obſervation of the enemy. He recommended to the electors to attack the right wing, and ordered Banier

to

to fall upon the left, while he advanced with a a large body of cavalry towards the ſpace he reſolved to occupy. Tilli well knowing that the ground was impracticable to horſe, ſuffered that body to approach, he was convinced that the king muſt have ſome other ſcheme in view, otherwiſe he muſt be diſappointed; but Guſtavus no ſooner reached the foot of the hill, than the cavalry ſuddenly opened and ſhewed a large body of infantry that was before concealed. Guſtavus diſmounted, and, at the head of thoſe troops, fell furiouſly on the battalions that oppoſed him in confuſion, broke and diſperſed them, and having placed himſelf between the two wings, divided his body of forces, and attacked them both together. Banier at the ſame time puſhed the left wing with great vigour, and the two electors fell upon the extremity of the right with equal ardour. The diſorder was ſo great among the imperialiſts, that they could make no reſiſtance and the flight was general on all ſides. Tilli however made the moſt heroic efforts to rally his troops, and by prayers and menaces, collected a body of infantry, returned upon the king and retarded his victory for ſome time. But the Swede, at the head of ſome choice battallions, attacked the Auſtrians with ſuch fury that Tilli himſelf was obliged to retreat with the fugitives.

The victor immediately endeavoured to reap all the advantages of his victory; an army under the command of the elector of Saxony entered the hereditary dominions of the emperor; another was ſent to drive the imperialiſts from the borders

ders of the Baltic, a third led by the king in perſon attacked Franconia, defeated Tilli a ſecond time, penetrated into the Circles on the Rhine, took Franckfort, ſubjected all the country watered by the Mein, and having reached the banks of the Rhine, thence ſuddenly marched towards the palatinate, drove out the Spaniards and reſtored it to the ancient maſter. The conqueror then turned his arms againſt Bavaria, paſſed the Danube, and ſaw Tilli again on the other ſide of the Leck.

This river is fordable only in very few places, and cannot be eaſily croſſed on account of its ſteep banks. The Auſtrian well knowing the importance of an event that would open the road of Vienna to the Swedes, exerted his utmoſt abilities to ſtop them; but the genius of Guſtavus triumphed over all his art, and Tilli ſeeing his enemy had croſſed the river, could not bear to ſurvive his diſappointment; he periſhed in an engagement where he fought with wanton temerity.

The king, thus maſter of Bavaria, marched to take poſſeſſion of Munich, ſent one of his generals to inſult Ratiſbon, and ſtruck a terror into the diet that was aſſembled to conſult meaſures againſt him. His lieutenants in the mean while had driven the imperialiſts out of all Lower Saxony, and the Saxons, who had made themſelves maſters of Prague, croſſed over Bohemia in order to join him and terminate the war, by taking the capital of Auſtria. Ferdinand had loſt all Germany, all his conqueſts of ſo many years, the fruits of his policy and what had coſt him ſo much

blood,

blood, were loſt in two campaigns; his allies were fled, his enemies reinſtated in their poſſeſſions, his hereditary dominions invaded on all ſides, and hewas now threatened to be attacked in the very midſt of his palace.

In this extremity, Valſtein was his only hope, and neceſſity obliging him to ſtifle his reſentment, the haughty emperor was forced to implore the aſſiſtance of a general whom he had inſulted; the aged Valſtein complied with reluctance; he had been always victorious, and was conſcious of the danger to which he was going to expoſe his glory in facing a conqueror who, with the experience of the greateſt commander, poſſeſſed all the fire and activity that belong only to youth.

The cries of the court of Vienna, the intreaties of all the catholics, the honour of raiſing a party ſo far ſunk at that time and formerly ſo triumphant in arms; that of humbling perhaps a hero whom Europe admired, in fine the glory of protecting the moſt powerful family in the world, or the certainty of profiting by their misfortunes by ſharing in their ſpoils, all contributed to overcome his repugnance and he marched at the head of the Eagles.

This was the moſt intereſting period of the war that kept Europe in a flame for thirty years. The two greateſt captains of the age were at blows, diſputing for the dominion of Germany. Valſtein, before he ventured to attack Guſtavus, reſolved to try his troops and revive their confidence by attempts of leſs conſequence and eaſier ſucceſs. Deaf to the cries of Maximilian of Bavaria, who

of

gin with the deliverance of his country; he ſuffered the Swedes to ravage it without oppoſition, and marched towards Bohemia that was laid waſte by the Saxons, whilſt his lieutenants, faithful to the plan he had traced out, were advancing on the ſide of Weſtphalia. Fortune returned with Valſtein to Bohemia, that kingdom formerly the theatre of his ſucceſs, was once more the ſcene of his victories. His lieutenants, governed by his orders, were no leſs fortunate, and Weſtphalia was ſoon freed from the Swedes. Hope now revived in the breaſts of the ſoldiers and inflamed their courage; Valſtein, well knowing all the importance of this firſt ardour, urged Maximilian to join him with all expedition in order to attack Guſtavus. That hero was at no great diſtance, impatient to try his arms with a general ſo famous, and ſenſible how expedient it was to prevent the enemy from uniting their forces, he marched rapidly againſt them, but arrived too late, and was an idle ſpectator of a junction that Valſtein effected before his face with extraordinary expedition. Guſtavus, notwithſtanding his numerous triumphs was not ſo raſh as to engage an enemy ſo much ſuperior in number; he retired in good order without being thrown into any confuſion by the two armies that followed him, and ſtopped under the cannon of Neubourg in a camp fortified by nature. He there waited for re-inforcements that he had ſent for to the north of Germany, diſappointed all the arts the enemy made uſe of to draw him to a battle, and heared without emotion the inſults of the Auſtrians, the complaints of deſolated

Saxony, and the murmurs of his camp, where proviſions began to fail. The troops he ſent for at length arrived; he now marched in turn againſt Valſtein; but the latter inſtructed by his example ſhut himſelf up in his camp, and was not to be moved.

The Swede weary of inaction employed every ſtratagem poſſible to decoy the enemy into the plain, and finding him proof againſt every ſnare determined to force his lines. The attack was terrible indeed; Guſtavus at the head of his guards furiouſly aſſaulted all that oppoſed him. Valſtein followed by the flower of the army faced the Swedes on every ſide; the veteran ſeemed as if he was multiplied; no ſooner was one part of his entrenchments forced, than he appeared in the breach, and by his valour diſlodged the enemies. Night coming on ſeparated the combatants, and the king, after loſing two thouſand men, relinquiſhed the enterpriſe. He left one of his generals before the camp of Valſtein, in order to keep him ſhut up there, he ſent the Saxons to ravage Sileſia with orders to march acroſs that province and join him on the Danube; he entered Bavaria himſelf, ſubjected that country again, and reſumed his project of carrying fire and ſword into the very heart of Auſtria itſelf. Whilſt every thing gave way to his arms, and Vienna, without defence ſurrounded by enemies, was a prey to deſolation, meſſengers arrived from the elector of Saxony with the moſt melancholy accounts of his dreadful ſituation. Valſtein had routed the army that inveſted his camp; and after ravaging Miſnia,

was

was then actually beſieging Veiſſenfeld, in order to penetrate into the heart of Saxony. Guſtavus juſtly ſuſpected the elector; this prince, jealous of the hero, generally neglected to ſecond his undertakings; he had recently given orders that fruſtrated the expedition in Sileſia. Any other perſon would have rejoiced at the diſtreſs of a perfidious ally, or at leaſt would not have thought him an object worthy of ſuch attention as to interrupt the courſe of his victories on his account. Guſtavus viewed the matter in a different light; ſhould he abandon this prince; his other allies, unacquainted with his motives, might accuſe him of negligence or want of attachment to the party. Their confidence would be leſſened, and they might perhaps abandon his alliance; in what a dreadful ſituation ſhould he be then, at the farther extremity of Germany, his troops diſperſed in different quarters, ſurrounded by new enemies and preſſed by an implacable adverſary? He ſacrificed his reſentment as well as the pleaſure of purſuing his glorious conqueſts, and leaving garriſons to ſecure a ſpeedy return, marched with the utmoſt expedition to the relief of Saxony. On his arrival he learned that the enemy, upon receiving information of his approach, had raiſed the ſiege of Veiſſenfeld, that Valſtein ſome days before had ſent a conſiderable detachment to a remote quarter, and that Papenheim, an officer of reputation, was at the head of that body; but that, as ſoon as it was known his Swediſh majeſty was advancing, an expreſs had been diſpatched to accelerate the return of that general.

The king reſolved to anticipate the junction, and advanced againſt the imperialiſts; he came up with them in the plains of Lutzen, and as the nature of the ground made it impoſſible to avoid an action, both armies prepared for the conflict. Guſtavus firſt attacked the infantry of Valſtein; Valſtein inſpiring his troops with all his courage, the battle was long, obſtinate and bloody, until at length that enthuſiaſtic ardour of extraordinary ſouls raiſed the king in a manner above himſelf and decided the victory. The Auſtrian infantry gave way on all ſides, and Valſtein, after ſurpaſſing his uſual valour had no other reſource but to throw himſelf into the midſt of his cavalry. Thoſe had the advantage, and might have re-inſtated the battle, but Guſtavus, having obſerved the motion of the enemy, immediately quitted his victorious infantry to head the horſe, and by his preſence ſoon gave them the ſuperiority. There was a hollow way between him and the enemy that retarded their total defeat; he drove through it with impetuous ardour, and was the firſt that paſſed; his example encouraged the moſt timid, all his cavalry was on the other ſide in a moment, he then was marching to a complete and deciſive victory that probably might have ſubjected the whole empire to his arms, when he recieved a mortal ſtroke and fell expiring in the arms of his ſoldiers. Papenheim arrived in this critical moment, and with his troops quite freſh fell furiouſly on the Swedes in affliction and diſorder.

THERE are ſome calamities that depreſs the ſoul and ſink all its powers into a ſtate of ſtupefaction

faction and inſenſibility; there are others that animate and inflame it with heroic fury. Such fortunately was the diſtreſs of the Swedes, inſpired by a glorious deſpair, and reſolved to ſacrifice thouſands of victims to the great man whoſe loſs they deplored, they fell upon the body commanded by Papenheim, and made a horrid ſlaughter until the fall of that general and the flight of Valſtein left them a compleat victory. After this, nothing was to be heared but cries and lamentations that echoed through the plains of their triumph; their tears bedewed the trophies that ſurrounded the body of their hero; they talked of nothing but his great glory, his courage and prudence, his affability that conciliated all hearts; his juſtice and clemency, that extorted love and eſteem, even from his enemies. But what increaſed their ſorrows, was the reaſon they had to ſuſpect that he had fallen by the hand of ſome perfidious aſſaſſin, and not by the chance of war. In their ſuſpicions they did not ſpare Saxony, who had always betrayed him; nor Auſtria, of whom he was the conſtant terror, nor France who began to fear him. When they began to recover from their grief and conſternation, they ſhuddered at the recollection of their ſituation. They were few in number, in the heart of Germany, three thouſand leagues from their country, in the midſt of faithleſs allies, and ſurrounded by powerful and numerous enemies; commanded by a great general who, from the ſhame of his defeat, was likely to prove more terrible. Guſtavus had left only an infant daughter on the throne. What

hopes could they have from ſo weak a pilot in ſuch tempeſtuous times? The great man, whoſe loſs they deplored, had happily formed pupils worthy of himſelf; Banier, Varangel and Toranſton had followed all his ſteps, had been the witneſſes, companions and inſtruments of his victories: they had alſo a German with them who more cloſely imitated that hero; the duke of Saxe-Weimar adored Guſtavus, had continually ſtudied his conduct, and was capable of reſtoring to the Swedes a part of the valour and capacity of the monarch. Courage animating thoſe hopes, they reſolved to purſue the projects and conqueſts of their maſter. Convinced that ſucceſs muſt depend upon the union and harmony of their forces, and conſequently on having a head to direct them, they gave the chief management of the affairs of the empire to the chancellor Oxenſtiern, whom the king had appointed governor of upper Germany. They then divided themſelves in order to act at the ſame time againſt all the branches of the catholic party, and continued their ſucceſſes; the ſoul of the conqueror ſeemed ſtill as it were in the midſt of them guiding their ſtandards and animating their valour.

VALSTEIN was retired to Bohemia, where he had collected the remains of the army. The grief for his defeat had given way to other ſentiments, and ambition inſpired him with the reſolution of profiting by his misfortune. The general confuſion that prevailed in Germany from the extremity of the Oder to that of the Rhine, facilitated the boldeſt attempts; the laws equally trampled upon by the vanquiſhed and victors, had

had loſt all their efficacy; the authority of the diets was deſtroyed in the tumult of arms; the catholics thought of nothing but defending their poſſeſſions that were in a moſt precarious ſituation; the proteſtants were divided and mutually diſtreſſing each other, and the Swedes, diſperſed through the empire which they ravaged, would rejoice at any uſurpation that might weaken the head of it.

The emperor, trembling in his capital, had ſcarce any thing left but his vain and pompous title, his armies were flying in all quarters; that of Valſtein alone poſſeſſed any degree of ſtrength; but thoſe troops were in a manner ignorant of the name of their ſovereign, and had no confidence but in their general. He was in Bohemia where he had extenſive poſſeſſions that procured him great credit; and that kingdom ſtripped of her privileges, would with joy embrace any opportunity of recovering them. Thus every thing was favourable to him, and he had nothing to do but put forth his hands and ſeize the crown which Ferdinand was ſcarce able to retain. With this view Valſtein negociated with the Saxon, whoſe alliance he found means to ſecure; he defended the Bohemians againſt the Swedes, artfully flattered them and gained their hearts. His friends, at the ſame time, diſperſed among the troops, attributed part of their misfortunes to the weakneſs of the court of Vienna, and inſinuated that they could not fail of ſucceſs, if their general ſhould ever be independent of an ignorant counſel that impeded the talents of a ſoldier that had been ſo long invincible.

THE emperor being informed of the deſigns of this ambitious officer, was in hopes of fruſtrating them by an exertion of authority that deprived him of the command. But Valſtein, who expected this, immediately aſſembled the army, and reminded them of the ſervices he had done for the Auſtrian; he declared that the elevation of that family had been owing to his valour, and their total ruin prevented by his prudence; he enumerated his various toils, dangers and victories, and compared them with the ingrateful treatment he now received, the indignity, chains, and even death that were prepared for him. He conjured the ſoldiers to compaſſionate their aged general who had always loved them as his children, and preſerve him from the rage and hatred of an implacable court. The army warmly eſpouſed his cauſe; they all with tears in their eyes proteſted never to obey any other authority but his, and the intoxication of their zeal carried them ſo far as to ſwear allegiance to him. The uſurper fortified himſelf in Egra, and, after ſetting every engine of art and policy at work in Prague itſelf, was preparing for his coronation in that city; but, at the very moment when every thing ſeemed to promiſe him the moſt ſplendid deſtiny, a wretch, admitted to his confidence, aſſaſſinated him in the midſt of the camp, and relieved Vienna from her terrors.

THE army, after the death of their chief, ſubmitted to Ferdinand, who was well pleaſed to forget their treaſon, and the Swedes, thus freed from their fears of Valſtein, gave themſelves up

to

to blind preſumption. The Auſtrians grown wiſe by their misfortunes made advantage of this imprudent intoxication, and the bloody battle of Norlinguen gave a mortal blow to the proteſtants, and reſtored a part of his former proſperity to the emperor. Oxenſtiern was obliged to fly, Upper Germany was freed from foreign arms, the Saxon abandoned the common cauſe, and the catholic cities that had been ſubjected now revolted, the proteſtants tottered, and the court of Vienna was on the point of regaining the ſuperiority.

Richelieu was a ſpectator of thoſe events, and made his advantage of them all. The victories of Guſtavus had given him uneaſineſs, and the umbrage he had conceived againſt that powerful ally, created ſome ſuſpicions that the policy of the miniſter had ſacrificed the hero. This death had reſtored matters to that equality he deſired, but the victory of Norlinguen giving too great a ſtrength to the authority of the emperor, Richlieu now thought it neceſſary to ſupport the Swedes. He entered into a treaty with Weimar and took his troops into the pay of France; he revived the hopes of Banier by ſending him conſiderable ſums of money; he placed the proteſtant princes under the protection of his ſovereign, and publicly declared war againſt the two branches of the Houſe of Auſtria. Whilſt he employed all his forces againſt both, Sweden recovered by his aſſiſtance and acted againſt the court of Vienna with new vigour. Weimar performed prodigies on the Rhine,

Rhine, and reduced the cities ſituate on the banks of that river; Varangel preſerved Pomerania, and retained the elector of Brandenburgh in the common cauſe; Banier maintained his ground on the borders of the Elbe, and made the Saxon repent of his inconſtancy; Toranſton, who ſucceeded him, purſued the operations with ſtill greater vigour and ſucceſs. Animated by the ideas of his heroic maſter, he formed the ſame plan, and after his example was reſolved to attack the Auſtrians in their own country. A victory he gained at Leipſic, in the very plains where Guſtavus before triumphed, opened him a road into the hereditary dominions of the enemy. He ravaged Franconia, Bavaria and Bohemia; he triumphed at Tabor, paſſed the defiles of the mountains, croſſed the Danube, ſpread deſolation in Auſtria, appeared under the walls of Vienna and the defeat of the French army alone obliged him to quit his prey.

The arms of Lewis were at firſt equally ſucceſsful with thoſe of Chriſtina. The ſudden death of Weimar was followed by ſome diſappointments, but they were ſoon repaired by the activity of Condé. This prince haſtily quitted the intrigues and pleaſures of the court, and flew to Germany in order to avenge the loſs his country ſuffered at Tudelinguen. He ſtopped the victorious enemy, attacked him in his turn, and, after a conflict of three days, obtained a deciſive victory at Fribourg; after this ſucceſs he returned to Flanders to gather freſh laurels, leaving Turenne to purſue the advantage. The latter in a

number

number of ſkirmiſhes happily acquired ſuch knowlege in the art of war, as afterwards made him famous; but a ſudden diſappointment aroſe in the midſt of this proſperity; Turenne, perſuaded by falſe intelligence that the army of the enemy was at a great diſtance, gave way to the preſſing intreaties of the troops who were deſirous of going into quarters. Surpriſed, repulſed and inveſted, he ſuffered for his imprudent ſecurity under the walls of Mariendal, and was menaced with a total defeat. Condé who was two hundred leagues from that city, immediately quitted his victorious army, and flew to the relief of the unfortunate general; having routed and diſperſed the enemy that oppoſed his march, he joined Turenne, drove the imperialiſts before him, entered Bavaria, gained a memorable battle in the very plains of Norlinguen, where the Swedes had been unfortunate, and then returned to the other army, in order to lead them to new triumphs. The empire was now in greater danger than ever; the Swedes united with the French under Toranſton and Turenne, laid ſiege to Auſburg, and the loſs of Bavaria, the ſurrender of that city was likely to occaſion, threatened to lay open Auſtria to both armies.

Ferdinand III, ſucceſſor to the titles of his father, was at length humbled by the misfortunes of his family, and ſolicited a peace which every thing conſpired to procure him. Germany a ſcene of confuſion and ſlaughter, and rent at the ſame time both by her ſons and foreigners, ardently deſired to ſee a concluſion of her miſery. Sweden was exhauſted by her very ſucceſſes

ſucceſſes, and her young queen wiſhed for tranquility, in order to cultivate the ſciences which ſhe paſſionately admired. The queen regent of France, in the diſturbances that were riſing in the kingdom of her ſon, foreſaw dangerous commotions, and agreed with joy to a peace that would give her an opportunity of uniting all her forces againſt the factious diſturbers.

Thus all the powers that diſtreſſed the empire joined in the ſame deſign: Davau and Oxenſtiern, the moſt able among the plenipotentiaries that were aſſembled at Munſter and Oſnabrugh, concluded the famous peace of Weſtphalia, and terminated one of the longeſt and bloodieſt wars that has diſturbed Europe by one of the wiſeſt and moſt deciſive treaties that ever was formed.

They firſt ſettled the form of government of the empire, and the rights of the chief; the emperor was to be always elective, and incapable of changing the ancient laws or enacting new; that power was veſted in the general diet only; and they alone had the privilege of declaring war in the name of the empire, of eſtabliſhing the general tax called Roman Months; and of putting under the ban of the empire or proſcribing a rebellious prince.

In the ſecond place, they regulated the power of the ſeparate ſtates of the Germanic body; each prince and every free city was at liberty to form what alliances they thought proper, to make peace or even war, provided thoſe acts of ſovereignty were not prejudicial to the laws of the general aſſociation.

They

THEY aftewards ſettled the article of religion; catholics, lutherans and calviniſts were tolerated, and each ſtate was allowed to follow the doctrines of any of the three which they might prefer; the emperor and the three eccleſiaſtical electors only were obliged to conform to the church of Rome. The princes who had been ſtripped of their poſſeſſions were reinſtated, and the palatinate of the Rhine with the title of elector was reſtored to the ſon of Frederic. In order to indemnify Maximilian of Bavaria an eighth electorate was created in his favour. The poſſeſſions of the clergy were employed in gratifying the other princes; notwithſtanding the murmurs of the pope ſome biſhoprics were ſeculariſed in order to reward the zeal the proteſtants had ſhewn in the common cauſe. France and Sweden reaped ſolid fruits of their blood and toils; France acquired the greateſt part of Alſace, Sweden preſerved Pomerania, the family of the dukes of that province being extinct, and to this were added the dutchies of Bremen and Verden; thoſe two crowns who dictated the terms of the peace were declared guarantees of the treaty and protectors of the liberty of the empire. Such was the ſubſtance of this famous treaty which is ſtill the baſis of the Germanic conſtitution and of the laws of a part of Europe.

FRANCE, who ſaw Condé crown the advantages of ſo glorious a peace with the empire by new victories againſt Spain, did not enjoy this great happineſs; the diſſenſions that agitated her capital ſoon ſet the kingdom in a flame

flame from one extremity to the other, and foreign conteſts were ſucceeded by all the horrors of a civil war.

SWEDEN, more happy, taſted all the ſweets of the tranquility ſhe had lately acquired, her throne exhibited an object leſs dazzling to vulgar eyes than when it was occupied by a hero, but perhaps appeared more intereſting to the contemplation of a philoſopher. A young queen was ſeated there, who, in the moſt tender years, at that period of life when giddy paſſion and frivolous pleaſures uſually intoxicate the mind, governed with wiſdom, purſued the deſigns of an immortal father, ſupported his glory, ſubjected faction, ſurrounded the throne with all the fine arts, invited the moſt deep and abſtruſe ſciences to her palace, and in the perſon of a princeſs of ſeventeen years, diſplayed the great ſovereign, the profound philoſopher and an excellent ſcholar.

ENGLAND.

ENGLAND, that had been the theatre of ſo many revolutions, now exhibited a very ſingular ſcene. While the reſt of the world was a prey to the greateſt agitation, ſhe alone enjoyed a profound tranquility. James, indifferent as to the motions of his neighbours, took no part in any of their quarrels, and employed all his thoughts in appeaſing thoſe that were riſing in his own kingdoms. The moſt important, in his eyes, was that between the preſbyterians and thoſe of the eſtabliſhed church; he

he hated the former both from reſentment and policy. His mother had been the victim and himſelf an object of their audacious proceedings; beſides having been educated among them from his infancy, he had an opportunity of knowing their character; it was not to the ſuperiority in ſpiritual matters alone that they ſubmitted with impatience; their efforts againſt the altar were but preludes to the blows which that ſtubborn ſect was meditating againſt the throne itſelf. He was alarmed to ſee they were grown as numerous in England as in Scotland, and felt the dangers that might thence reſult to himſelf and his ſucceſſors; but being too timid to attack them openly he endeavoured to gain them over by perſuaſion and reaſon, and to reconcile them with thoſe of the epiſcopal church. A conference held at Hampton-Court at which the monarch preſided ſeemed to him to have ſuſpended their animoſity, but under this fallacious appearance, the preſbyterians only laboured more effectually to ſtrengthen themſelves; and James, not perceiving their progreſs, exulted at a tranquility that covered their deſigns and made them the more dangerous.

The affairs of Ireland gave him but little uneaſineſs and flattered his vanity; he rejoiced at having terminated them, firſt by a real act of injuſtice that deprived the Ulſter nobles of the eſtates they and their anceſtors had enjoyed for ages; and afterwards by a ſhew of equity, in allowing the unfortunate people he had ruined the protection of the laws. The parliament, whoſe

whoſe pretenſions were daily increaſing, gave him much more ſerious occupation; he began by oppoſing them with ſome ſpirit, but ſoon weary of an exertion that was no way natural to him, he had recourſe to the moſt extravagant condeſcenſion, and gained their affection by giving up the catholics to their hatred. When he had thus obtained tranquility that was ſo dear to him, the death of his eldeſt ſon clouded his happineſs; he was likewiſe diſturbed by the misfortunes of his ſon-in-law, who was defeated under the walls of Prague, after he had been crowned in that city, and now lived in exile and miſery with the empty title of king. James, who could not forbear intereſting himſelf in the fortune of Frederic, endeavoured to aſſiſt him in a manner conformable to his diſpoſition. He propoſed a match between the new prince of Wales and the daughter of Philip III, and the dowry he demanded was the reeſtabliſhment of the elector. The young prince, impatient to accelerate the treaty, ſet out for Spain, accompanied by Villiers duke of Buckingham, the favourite of the king, a man very well formed for the little intrigues of a court, but a perfect novice in the management of important affairs. The negociation, when it was in the faireſt way of ſucceeding, was broke off by the haughty behaviour of the duke that occaſioned a quarrel betwixt him and Olivares, and Charles having returned to London, ſoon after married the famous Henrietta of France.

James now ſeeing no other reſource was at laſt determined to go to war, but, deſtined to live always in peace, he died in the midſt of the preparations. The learning, goodneſs and happy reign of this prince have been extolled, but his learning was that of a pedant; his goodneſs aroſe in a great meaſure from weakneſs, and the felicity of his reign was owing to a timidity that proved deſtructive to his poſterity.

Charles the firſt aſcended the throne of his father at the age of twenty-ſeven in the moſt difficult circumſtances. A war to ſupport againſt a formidable family; the moſt urgent neceſſity of ſoliciting large ſupplies; a people accuſtomed to grant little; a parliament in a condition to make head againſt the maſter; two ſects that waited to involve the kingdom in confuſion and flames for their mutual deſtruction; thoſe of the epiſcopal church endeavouring to employ the royal authority in the ruin of the preſbyterians; the latter ſeeking to humble that authority in order to deſtroy their adverſaries; ſuch was the trying ſituation of Charles. With genius, good ſenſe, the moſt laudable intentions and ſome knowlege even in the art of government, this prince, unfortunately, had neither that neutrality for all ſects that might have kept them quiet by appearing to protect them all, nor the art neceſſary to weaken them by dividing the members that compoſed them; he had not the weakneſs of James to procure ſome degree of quiet by complying with the demands of faction,

nor the ſtrength and ſuperiority of Elizabeth to to repreſs and ſubject ſedition.

Being born the ſecond ſon of the king and deſigned from his infancy for the archbiſhopric of Canterbury, he had been inſtructed in the ſcholaſtic divinity by doctors, who made it an article of conſcience with him to ſupport epiſcopacy: his father had inſpired him with the ſtrongeſt averſion to the preſbyterians, and Charles had a ſoul too noble and generous to permit him to diſſemble his ſentiments. Every thing round him contributed to increaſe the danger of his ſituation; the queen poſſeſſed great qualities and ſublime virtues, but ſhe was proud, contemptuous, paſſionately fond of arbitrary power and continually endeavoured to inſpire her conſort with the ſame deſire. She was a zealous catholic and openly protected her religion which the nation deteſted; ſhe had a nuncio in her train, and by thoſe meaſures excited continual murmurs. Buckingham, who was an amiable courtier, a weak miniſter, an inſolent favourite and no patriot, daily increaſed the number of his maſter's enemies. In ſhort the council in general was ambitious, weak and rapacious.

Charles began his reign with aſſembling a parliament, and from that moment he might eaſily perceive the ſpirit that reigned in the nation. The preſbyterian diſpoſition diſplayed itſelf at the very firſt opening of the ſeſſions, and ſhewed it was the deſign of that party to tranſfer the principal authority to the commons. The king having diſmiſſed this ſeditious aſſembly, and,

and, being forced by the ill ſucceſs of his arms to demand ſupplies, found in a ſecond parliament more frequent murmurs, inſolence increaſed and the pretenſions of the aſſembly multiplied.

Buckingham was impeached of high treaſon, and notwithſtanding the commands of the monarch the proſecution was carried on with violence againſt him. Thoſe proceedings being ſtopped by diſmiſſing the parliament a ſecond time gave great offence to the people, and their reſentment was farther inflamed by exactions. An unjuſt tax laid upon ſhipping, edicts that deprived the Scotch nobles of clerical poſſeſſions which their anceſtors had uſurped, money extorted from the rich merchants by menaces, and even impriſonment; ſuch were the methods uſed to equip the fleet that Buckingham led to the relief of Rochelle. But his unfortunate expedition, which coſt England ſo much blood, and ſerved only to diſhonour her arms and ruin the proteſtants of France, raiſed the public indignation to the higheſt pitch, and the whole nation called loudly for vengeance on the devoted victim. In the mean time, the diſordered ſtate of the treaſury leaving no other reſource, the miniſter was obliged to call the parliament together the third time, though he dreaded and deteſted that aſſembly. The principles that influenced the two former were openly avowed in this, and ſupported by the powers of a dangerous orator. Wenhort with ſuperior eloquence and the moſt profound knowlege of the laws, governed, encouraged

couraged and charmed the houſe; he pointed out a road to democracy, and thundered againſt the abuſes of the miniſter; the impeachment was revived with new animoſity, and Buckingham, having eſcaped the ſword of the law by a prorogation, periſhed ſoon after by the hands of a fanatic aſſaſſin. The taking of Rochelle enraged the people, and became a new triumph to the enemies of the prince. They laid hold of this opportunity to examine rigorouſly the conduct of the late miniſtry, the taxes, loans and particularly the arbitrary impriſonments. The tumult raiſed by the laſt article, the moſt important of all, extorted the habeas corpus act from the monarch; by this famous ſtatute the liberty of the citizen is ſecured from the empire of caprice, and ſubject only to the authority of the laws.

This pliancy encouraging preſumption and inſolence, new bills were daily introduced that tended to annihilate the moſt precious prerogatives of the crown; and Charles, after oppoſing them for a long time with patience and moderation, was at length obliged to diſſolve this parliament likewiſe.

Buckingham had till now held the reins of goverment, Charles took them into his own hands, and formed a plan leſs violent and more judicious. Reſolving to call no more parliaments together, he made peace with Spain and France, and abandoned the eare of the palatinate to the victories of Guſtavus. He formed a new council, at the head of which he placed the formidable Wenhort, he created him earl of Straf-

ford,

ford, heaped favours on him, and made him a friend equally faithful and judicious. Prudent economy enabled him to ſupport the dignity of his rank with his ordinary revenues; if he ſometimes raiſed money in a manner not ſtrictly conſiſtent with the laws, it was done ſo as not to give offence, and he reconciled the meaſure by an adminiſtration favourable to juſtice, commerce and induſtry. While he thus procured eaſe and happineſs to his people, himſelf enjoyed the greateſt felicity. A faithful huſband to an amiable conſort, a tender father of a reſpectful ſon, adored as a maſter by all his dependents, and ſurrounded by a court that idolized him for his virtues, he ſtill enhanced this great proſperity by the enjoyments he found in his paſſion for the fine arts. A dangerous ſpirit at length unhappily involved him in religious diſputes, and all his days were afterwards agitated with continual ſtorms.

We often meet with men who imagine that auſterity of manners comprehends every virtue, and, poſſeſſed of that, think themſelves juſtifiable in being proud, obſtinate, fanatical and factious. Such was the famous Laud who was raiſed from the loweſt condition to the ſummit of eccleſiaſtical honours, more by art and intrigue than by the merit of extenſive learning. Inflated with the prerogatives of his dignity, this archbiſhop of Canterbury was provoked to ſee all Scotland exempt from the yoke of his authority. That kingdom had adopted the doctrine of Calvin with all its rigour, and would neither allow conſecration amongſt her miniſters, or ceremonies

in her worſhip. A picture or image, a gown and caſſoc or ſurplice excited horror; and to bow or uncover the head at the name of Jeſus appeared abominable ſuperſtition. Laud, ambitious of extending his liturgy, was continually inſinuating to the king that his conſcience reproached him for ſuffering ſo conſiderable a portion of his ſubjects to follow ſuch impious tenets; and that truth, above every other conſideration, obliged him to aſſiſt in the work of their converſion. The tender feelings of the monarch made him unwilling to diſturb the happineſs of a people that were dear to him on many accounts for a few ceremonies. Overcome by the repeated ſolicitations of the primate, and prompted by his own inclination, he at length iſſued the fatal edict agreeable to the wiſhes of Laud.

It appeared at firſt to meet with ſome reſpect, but the day the biſhop of Edinburgh attempted to exerciſe his function, the populace ran in crowds to the church, flung the benches at the head of the prelate and threatened to tear him and his clergy to pieces. In a moment the whole city joined the rebels, and aſſaulted the church where the ſervice was performing with a ſhower of ſtones. Grown more outrageous by the very attempt that was made to curb their fury; from contempt of the prieſthood they proceeded to that of the throne, and formed an eccleſiaſtical government independent of the prince. The provinces quickly followed the example of the capital, the peaſants mixed with the citizens, and the nobles irritated at the loſs

of

of the benefices, ſoon united with the ſeditious. They all unanimouſly ſigned the confederacy ſtyled the covenant, by which they engaged to defend what they called the purity of the goſpel with the laſt drop of their blood. Thouſands appeared in arms offering themſelves for the defence of the covenant; officers formed under Guſtavus headed the rebels, and the ſupreme command was given to Leſley, an able general.

The king having in vain employed lenient methods, was forced to have recourſe to authority; he marched againſt them, followed by a ſplendid train of nobility; but alarmed at the reſolute appearance the made, he granted Scotland the privilege of a free ſynod, and of following the religion ſhe preferred. But he had ſcarce returned to London, when, influenced by the ſuggeſtions of Laud, he committed publicly to the flames the very treaty he had dictated himſelf. An account of this proceeding having reached Edinburgh, rekindled the rage of the inhabitants, and the ſacred war was now fully reſovled upon. Men and women of every rank and age vied with each other in furniſhing the neceſſaries for preparing an army and fortifying the cities; ladies of the firſt quality mixed with the moſt abject populace and aſſiſted in carrying the materials.

Charles, in hopes that the inſolence of the Scotch would excite the reſentment of the Engliſh nation, called a parliament and demanded ſupplies againſt the rebels, but he was greatly ſurpriſed to find the commons juſtify the Scotch, and

condemn his conduct. He diſſolved an aſſembly from whom he now ſaw he had nothing to hope, and ſeconded by the Iriſh catholics and a few Engliſh troops, endeavoured to act without parliamentary aid. He unhappily loſt a precious opportunity, and ſuffered the confederates to get the ſtart of him. Animated with all the ardour and courage that enthuſiaſm inſpires, they invaded the north of England and ſeized on the principal places of ſtrength. Charles, who had it in his power to repair thoſe trifling loſſes, complied with his ſubjects a ſecond time, and, in oppoſition to the advice of Strafford, conſented to a ſhameful treaty that conſtituted his parliament judges between him and the rebels.

Thus began that long and terrible parliament whoſe efforts, guided by genius and daring reſolution, terminated in the deſtruction of the ſcepter and ſacrifice of the monarch, and produced tyranny from the midſt of the ſtrangeſt anarchy. In the interval between the convocation and meeting of parliament, the moſt artful meaſures had been taken in all the cities, and procured the election of ſuch members as were moſt zealouſly inimical to the prince. The preſbyterians, who only endeavoured to humble the royal authority without aboliſhing the name of king, were not the moſt formidable party; a faction had been formed of a much more dangerous ſpirit; thoſe were indifferent as to matters of religion, and aimed at nothing leſs than the deſtruction of the king and all regal power whatever;

ever; they were impatient to raiſe a perfect democracy on the ruins of the throne.

This party was compoſed of men who united depth, vigour and activity of mind with intrepid courage. Hambden, Pyn and Vanes were the chiefs of this republican faction. The penetration of Pyn let ſlip no opportunity of accompliſhing his deſigns; the enthuſiaſm of Vanes inſpired the body with uſeful ardour, and the talents of the one and the zeal of the latter were directed by the fatal prudence of Hambden. This party was actually concealed among the preſbyterians, and the genius that governed them ſecretly availed itſelf of the fanaticiſm of the others.

The new parliament diſplayed the ſpirit that actuated them by their daring proceedings; at the very opening of the ſeſſions an impeachment of high treaſon being carried againſt the earl of Strafford, he was arreſted in the houſe of Peers and committed to the Tower. Laud ſoon experienced the ſame treatment; the chancellor and one of the ſecretaries of ſtate avoided a ſimilar fate only by flight; thoſe who had the direction of the royal revenues were all uneaſy, and no perſon attached to the ſovereign was thought innocent. Charles was obliged to drop the name of rebels, which he made uſe of in ſpeaking of the Scotch; the queen was under the neceſſity of apologizing for her deſign of raiſing ſome troops for her huſband; Mary of Medicis, who came to England, was inſulted by the populace and driven out by the parliament. Three writers,

writers, who had been impriſoned for having attacked the prince, were ſet at liberty and highly applauded. Every thing that had been done in Scotland was approved, and the army that oppoſed the king not only received thanks, but likewiſe a gratification.

The trial of Strafford in the mean time was carried on with violence; his blood was looked upon as neceſſary to cement the baſis of the republic. He was deteſted as the deſerter of a faction that triumphed by his eloquence, and dreaded as a miniſter capable of giving uſeful advice to his maſter. He in vain demonſtrated the irregularity of their proceedings and the animoſity of his judges. As it was feared that the latter would not condemn him, the commons paſſed a bill of proſcription againſt him. The houſe of lords, after oppoſing this violent meaſure for a conſiderable time, were terrified by the clamours and menaces of the people and at laſt complied. The conſent of the king was ſtill neceſſary, but what hopes could there be of perſuading him to ſign the order for the death of a friend who ſuffered only for his attachment to him? The heads of the republicans redoubled their factious intrigues on this occaſion; the populace inflamed by fanatic preachers gathered round the palace in an outrageous manner, followed the king in the ſtreets, and loudly demanded the blood of the pretended criminal.

The fear of involving the country in the flames of civil war, increaſing ſedition, the preſſing intreaties of the court and the tears of the queen, after

after a thouſand painful ſtruggles, extorted from the monarch a conſent that he ſhould never have given, and for that act alone he merited the death which he afterwards ſuffered, though in every other part of his conduct he was an amiable and reſpectable ſovereign. Strafford, who had the generoſity to ſolicit death, aſcended the ſcaffold with the ſame courage and compoſure that he had diſplayed when he was the admiration of the ſenate and governed all their deliberations.

After this blow nothing reſiſted the parliamentarians. The tribunals ſubject to the king were aboliſhed, the biſhops excluded from the houſe of lords, the peers had nothing but the ſhadow of authority, and the monarch loſt all his. He was made to ſign an agreement for caſting a new parliament every three years; and they extorted a fatal declaration from him, permitting the parliament then met to continue ſitting as long as they thought expedient for the welfare of the ſtate. The enemies, now fearleſs of any interruption in their deſigns, carried on the edifice of democracy with amazing rapidity.

Charles, who ſaw that his condeſcenſion became the ſport of thoſe who took advantage of it, at length reſolved to repel the daring attempts of faction by force, and he was in hopes of finding aſſiſtance even among the people of London, who began to pity him; but the ſudden news of the conſpiracy in Ireland furniſhed the faction with an occaſion of freſh calumny and revived all the hatred of the people. The fanaticiſm of the preſbyterians, who had aſſumed all the rights of the

the ſovereign, oppreſſed, under all the weight of the moſt tyrannic yoke, a nation diſtinguiſhed for their attachment to their religion and prince. The property, lives and honours of thoſe inſulars were a prey to the caprice of their tyrants, who robbed and murdered them with no leſs impunity than barbarous inſolence. The Iriſh, conſidering their oppreſſors as a ſet of frantic wretches that made a jeſt of all laws, and the implacable enemies of their common ſovereign, perſuaded themſelves that every meaſure was juſtifiable againſt thoſe unjuſt ſtrangers; and in a plot carried on with the moſt profound ſecrecy, maſſacred great numbers. In the inſurrection of a whole people exaſperated by a long ſeries of injuries and oppreſſion, and animated by the prjudice of religion, exceſſes were doubtleſs committed. They were however greatly exaggerated at London, where it was repreſented that all the Engliſh ſettled in Ireland had been murdered in a perfiduous manner. The preſbyterians eagerly ſeized this occaſion, and accuſed Charles of being the author or at leaſt an accomplice of the maſſacre. The commons ſupported the charge in a ſeditious petition, and preachers devoted to the faction openly aſſerted it in the pulpit. The people now looked upon the king in no other light than that of the murderer of their countrymen, and were more zealouſly attached to the parliament than ever. The ſtreets echoed with the outrageous cries of the mob, who carried their inſolent clamours to the very gates of the palace.

The lords, principal citizens, and ſtudents of the colleges flew to the defence of their ſovereign. The whole city was divided, took up arms, laid chains acroſs the ſtreets and prepared for hoſtilities. Charles ſeeing no ſafety in London returned to Hampton-court, where the nobility and chief gentry united under his ſtandard; ſome ſuccours from Holland having increaſed that body his army ſoon amounted to 10,000 men. Robert his nephew, ſon to the unfortunate elector Palatine commanded under him. London and almoſt all the great cities declared for the parliament; the earl of Eſſex their general, had the commandof 15,000. The two armies impatient to engage met at Edghill, and ſtruck the firſt blows that were followed by ſo much blood and ſlaughter. Victory at firſt decided by the intrepid conduct of Robert, became uncertain by the ardour of that prince, who, in purſuing the rebels left the royal infantry uncovered. A ſecond conflict was equally glorious and more deciſive for the royaliſts; ſimilar ſucceſs attended them in various rencounters; the poet Waller in vain ſupported the honour of the parliamentary arms with a momentary ſucceſs; he was defeated himſelf and obliged to fly with a remnant of his routed forces. Eſſex ſurpriſed a ſecond time was not more fortunate, and the death of Hambden, who was killed in the action, ſeemed an irreparable loſs to the faction. Briſtol inveſted was forced to ſubmit to the bravery of Robert, and London open to the conqueror trembled at the approach of a maſter followed by victory and vengeance. Charles, who now had

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it in his power to terminate the war by marching directly to the capital, liſtened to the ſuggeſtions of a perfidious council who diverted him from that reſolution, and the traitors led him to Glouceſter where a fanatic garriſon ſtopped all the efforts of the conqueror.

London recovered from her conſternation and the parliament redoubled their activity; they gave a new army to Eſſex and applied to the Scotch who ſold them 20000 men. Charles had recourſe to the Iriſh, who were always ready to ſacrifice themſelves for their prince, and a body of that nation flew to Scotland for the defence of the ſovereign. All Britain was a theatre of diſcord and ſlaughter, in every country and city families and relations fought againſt each other. Beſides a variety of ſmall detachments, ſix regular armies ravaged the extremities and heart of England, whilſt Montroſe at the head of 800 faithful Scotch, and 1200 Iriſh badly armed and ill paid, but animated by fidelity and courage, defeated armies of treble the number, made himſelf maſter of the country, blocked up the rebellious cities, ſtruck terror into Edinburgh, and, no leſs able in negociation than in arms, found means to detach the brave Highlanders from the reſt of the nation.

The king continued ſucceſsful in the ſouthern provinces, and his generals were equally fortunate in the centrical parts of the kingdom; but a bloody diſappointment diſtreſſed his party in the north of England. Prince Robert having haſtily marched to the relief of the loyal Newcaſtle who was beſieged in York by the rebels, extricated him with

with equal valour and ſucceſs, and encouraged by this advantage, attacked them in the plains of Mortemoore under the walls of that great city. Newcaſtle broke their ranks at the very firſt ſhock, and the prince ſupporting him with his uſual ardour, the parliamentarians were ſeen flying before them and gave them almoſt a certainty of a complete victory: but in a moment the talents of one man entirely changed the whole ſcene.

Cromwell, who commanded one of the wings of the rebel army had retired at the beginning of the engagement in order to have a wound dreſſed. Upon hearing of the defeat of his party he returned haſtily to the field of battle, and at the firſt glance obſerved that the victors were in as great diſorder as the vanquiſhed; he immediately collected a body of the fugitives, revived their courage, put himſelf at their head and led them againſt the royaliſts; he attacked them with ſo much fury and good order, with ſuch prudence and valour, that he made them fly in turn and obtained a complete victory. Every thing ſubmitted to the fortunate rebels in the north of England, while all the ſouthern counties were ſubjected by Charles. He drove Eſſex before him to the very extremity of Cornwall, ſhut him up between his troops and the ſea, and obliged him to take refuge on board a veſſel and abandon his army, which ſurrendered to the king; the parliament, inſtead of blaming the general for this misfortune, thanked him for his zeal; he ſoon appeared again with new forces, advanced againſt the ſovereign in order to oppoſe his

his march to Oxford; this produced a ſecond battle, the victory was claimed by both parties.

CHARLES, ſeeing that ſo much blood had been ſhed to no purpoſe, and that the quarrel was not likely to terminate ſpeedily, offered a new treaty to both houſes, but though he gave up his moſt precious prerogatives, he had no hopes of a reconciliation from the rigour of their new demands.

THIS ſtrange inflexibility aroſe from a revolution in the houſe of commons. The preſbyterians no longer held the principal authority; it was then in the hands of the faction of independents, who foſtered among the former had made their intrigues inſtrumental in promoting their own ſanguinary deſigns. The latter, more artful, more politic and active had inſenſibly acquired the principal confidence at Weſtminſter and in the camp. The death of Hambden, that ſeemed to have deprived them of their ſtrongeſt ſupport, had proved rather advantageous. That leader of the party had been replaced by a man of a much more dangerous ſtamp.

OLIVER CROMWELL a native of the county of Huntingdon, of a poor but noble family, found means to get himſelf returned member for Cambridge. A natural averſion to all dependence and a ſettled inclination for every factious intrigue made him immediately a party in all ſchemes that were inimical to the throne. In the midſt of ſo many oppoſite ſects that agitated the parliament, indifferent with reſpect to them all, he ſo perfectly caught the air, manners and diſpoſition of each,

each, that he became the ſoul of them all and as it were the point in which their ſeveral intereſts centered. He made this confidence inſtrumental in raiſing on their ruins the party of the independents, whoſe elevation was the firſt ſtep to his own. With this view he endeavoured to prevent a reconciliation between Charles and the commons, and the articles of the treaty were made ſo rigorous in order to diſguſt the king and drive him to extremities, to force him to continue the war, and make him appear criminal in the eyes of the nation. He propoſed the three articles to which he knew the king would never ſubmit; theſe were, to give up his followers to the rage of the rebels, diſband the army and aboliſh epiſcopacy.

The refuſal of Charles having ſecured the projects of Cromwell, he turned his attention to the parliamentary army, and ſet every engine at work in order to make them blindly devoted to the intereſts of the faction. Eſſex and his friends were magnificently rewarded, and called to Weſtminſter under pretence that their advice was wanting, but the true reaſon was that though they were guilty of rebellion, they were incapable of parricide. Fairfax diſtinguiſhed as a ſoldier, but a man of ſlender capacity and eaſily led, was declared general and Cromwell appointed his lieutenant. The latter, under a ſubordinate title, regulated all the operations as a commander in chief; he began with placing at the head of every corps men of the loweſt birth, who, as they owed every thing to their protector, became

the blind inſtruments of his will. He afterwards gained the hearts of the ſoldiers, and acquired veneration among them by the fame of his ſanctity, his abilities and valour. His creatures, in concert with him, circulated through the camp that Cromwell was a man inſpired, who had viſions and immediate revelations from heaven. A ſpecious auſterity of manners, a myſtic jargon borrowed from ſacred writ, ſighs, tears and exſtatic fits helped to perſuade ignorant and ſuperſtitious ſoldiers of the truth of thoſe fables; they now conſidered the lieutenant of their general as a prophet whoſe oracles they thought it criminal to contradict. He acted at the ſame time the ſeveral parts of a ſoldier, a captain and miſſionary; he preached to the troops on their marches, in the camp, at the beginning of a battle, as if prompted by divine inſpiration, and unable to reſiſt declaring the orders of heaven. By thoſe arts he ſucceeded in forming an army of enthuſiaſts, and ſtrengthened the valour of the ſoldiery by fanatic weakneſs. How was it poſſible for Charles and his friends to ſtand againſt ſuch formidable bigots? All wiſdom and capacity became uſeleſs againſt a multitude of rebels who were perſuaded of going directly to heaven if they died in attempting to dethrone their ſovereign.

The two armies met at Naeſby, where they engaged with this diſparity of forces, and Cromwell diſplayed the ſame capacity as at Mortemoore; he forced the victory from Robert, though that prince thought he had it ſecure; his ſon-in-law, who was a priſoner with the royaliſts,

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was retaken, and his party gained a deciſive triumph. He afterwards marched with prodigious celerity towards the weſt, and ſeized upon all the ſtrong holds he met in his way, while Fairfax and the other commanders, reduced with no leſs rapidity all the places they laid ſiege to. The king, who was obliged to ſhut himſelf up in Oxford, was informed at the ſame time that Montroſe, after having performed heroic actions in Scotland, had been at length overpowered by ſuperior numbers with the Iriſh under his command and left that kingdom in as deſperate a ſituation as England.

His troops annihilated, his generals either priſoners or fugitives, his friends cruſhed and his adherents afraid to open their lips in his favour, without money or any place of ſecurity, a parliament that refuſed him entrance into London, and a ſeditious army that menaced him with chains; ſuch was the dreadful ſituation of Charles at this time. He had however ſtill a reſource in the unſhaken fidelity and loyalty of Ireland, but he neglected it and threw himſelf into the arms of the Scotch who were his enemies. As he was born amongſt the latter, of a family that reigned over that country for ſeveral centuries, he was in hopes of meeting at leaſt with that compaſſion which even a foreign prince might claim under ſuch misfortunes. He was not long before he diſcovered the fatal conſequences of this ſtep. He was at firſt treated with a ſhew of reſpect, but ſoon became an object of cruel outrage and ſevere captivity; was after-

wards made the victim of an infamous treaty, and ſold to his implacable enemies by his perfidious countrymen.

Cromwell, who lately deſtroyed the king's party, was the ſoul of this horrible treaty, now conceived hopes of accompliſhing his ambitious projects. He began by endeavouring to gain the confidence of the parliament, and particularly of the preſbyterians. He ſhewed the moſt profound reſpect and a blind deference for that aſſembly, he ſpoke with enthuſiaſtic raptures and tears of admiration of the glorious things they had effected; he proteſted eternal and unlimited obedience to them, and whenever he ventured to make a motion he ſpoke with diffidence and timidity. By thoſe arts, ſupported by the ſplendor of his victories, having acquired the principal authority in the houſe, he mentioned the remonſtrances preſented by the army, though dictated by himſelf, as ſo many ſeditious libels that deſerved puniſhment; he repreſented that body as dangerous, and that it was abſolutely neceſſary to to curb their inſolence; he continually urged that there was no other method of reducing them but by the moſt rigorous treatment. In this manner he prevailed upon both houſes to make daily regulations that diſpleaſed the army; and he worked upon them ſo far as to perſuade them to paſs a bill for ſending moſt of the regiments to Ireland, where the ſoldiers imagined they muſt inevitably periſh. As ſoon as theſe regulations were made, he took upon him to ſee them executed, but the moment he entered the camp, he

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aſſembled his friends, lamented the fate of ſo many brave men, painted in the moſt odious colours the ingratitude of the preſbyterians, and, while he affected to exhort the troops to obedience, ſaid every thing neceſſary to urge them to ſedition. The ſoldiers enraged, as he had foreſeen, and inflamed by his emiſſaries unanimouſly revolted, and ſwore that they would no longer acknowlege the authority of parliament. Cromwell, who was the ſecret author of thoſe reſolutions which his arts occaſioned, propoſed a plan for carrying off the king to the army, and demanding the excluſion of ſuch members of the parliament as might oppoſe his deſigns.

THE commons now began to ſee into the character of Cromwell; and, ſeconded by the city of London, paſſed a bill for depriving the chiefs of the army of their commiſſions, and arming the city militia. This exertion of authority completed the wiſhes of Cromwell, as it furniſhed him with a pretext for acting with violence againſt the houſe, and Fairfax, who was entirely devoted to him, marched againſt the new-raiſed body of citizens who fled as ſoon as the ſtandards of the independents appeared. The latter immediately entered the capital, ſeized upon the avenues of Weſtminſter, at the very time the members were to meet, prevented all thoſe they ſuſpected from entering the houſe, particularly the leaders of the preſbyterian party, and by this violence the friends of the republican faction became maſters of the deliberations.

UNFORTUNATE Charles in the mean time was carried off by the army and conducted to Hampton-court, where he flattered himſelf for ſome time with the hopes of better days. He was ſerved with ſplendor and all the attention due to his rank, which the preſbyterians had refuſed him; he was allowed to ſee his friends, and met with the greateſt reſpect from the officers of the guards that were placed round him. Cromwell in particular behaved with the moſt profound veneration, he condoled with him on his paſt misfortunes, encouraged him to hope for happier times, and congratulated him on his having no longer the implacable preſbyterians to treat with; he flattered him by inſinuating that he ſhould find more generous enemies in a council of war, aſſuring him that he was ready to aſſiſt him with all his authority and credit, and even to ſhed his blood for his ſervice. In this manner the treacherous and diſſembling villain gained the confidence of a monarch who was too ſincere not to be credulous, inſinuated himſelf into his ſecrets, and made thoſe diſcoveries inſtrumental in promoting his bloody deſigns. At the ſame time he had moſt rigorous terms of reconciliation propoſed by others, and particularly the aboliſhing of epiſcopacy to which he knew Charles would never conſent. Supported by the refuſal he had foreſeen, he artfully circulated through the camp that the king rejected the moſt reaſonable offers, that he was the inflexible enemy of his people, and determined to purſue them with eternal hoſtilities.

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PERCEIVING that all his complaints were not yet ſufficient to reconcile the people to parricide, he made uſe of another artifice. He ingratiated himſelf ſtill farther with his maſter, affected to ſhew the moſt ardent zeal for his preſervation, and confirmed thoſe ſentiments by falſe information with which he continually deceived him. After playing this part for a conſiderable time, he entered his apartments one day with terror and conſternation in his looks and impoſed upon the monarch with a forged tale of an imaginary aſſaſſination, adviſing him to fly to the Iſle of Wight, where he promiſed him a ſafe retreat. Charles followed this fatal counſel, and the moment he reached the iſland was arreſted by the governor who was devoted to Cromwell. The artful impoſtor immediately ran through all the ranks, and, as the king had promiſed not to quit Hampton-court, he made a handle of that circumſtance to blacken him as guilty of perjury, as a man without faith or honour, with whom it would be impoſſible to conclude any permanent treaty, and whoſe death alone could ſecure the tranquility of the nation.

NOTHING was more eaſy for Cromwell than to diſpatch the ſovereign whoſe fate was in his hands, but he wiſhed to deſtroy him with ſome appearance of legal authority, in having him condemned by parliament, while at the ſame time he was meditating the ruin of parliament itſelf. Finding that, notwithſtanding all his artful ſchemes, great part of the aſſembly, with all their

fanaticiſm were determined to oppoſe his criminal meaſures, he raiſed various accuſations againſt the members, and by ſeditious remonſtrances preſented in the name of the army and accompanied with the moſt inſolent threats, he found means to get forty excluded that were obnoxious to him. This violence having made his party triumphant in the houſe of commons, he then began to open his deſigns againſt the very perſon of the king; but as the immediate deſire of his death would have ſhocked the people, he at firſt urged no more than to depoſe him. Ireton his ſon-in-law opened the affair, beginning with this dangerous maxim, that kings and nations entered into mutual obligations, kings to protect the people and make them happy, the people to reſpect and obey the kings; he thence concluded that, Charles having declared himſelf an enemy to the nation, the people might, and even ought to conſider him no longer as their king. Cromwell, who ſpoke after him, gave new weight to his arguments and ſupporting his abſurd eloquence with menacing geſtures, the houſe of commons voted for the abjuration. The peers, who by their birth were more cloſely attached to the crown, and who ſaw in the deſtruction of the monarchy that of their own dignity, oppoſed the bill for a conſiderable time. Part of them refuſed to attend parliament, the reſt terrified by the menaces and cries of the ſoldiers who ſurrounded the houſe, agreed to paſs

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the bill on condition that no farther attempts ſhould be made againſt the throne.

In the mean time the ſacred voice of humanity that always ſpeaks in favour of unfortunate princes affected the hearts of the people. The unworthy treatment the monarch met with increaſed thoſe ſentiments, and the bill of abjuration raiſed them to the higheſt pitch. The tradeſmen aſſembled in a tumultuous manner demanded to ſee the king; the inhabitants of Surry with great formality preſented a petition in his favour. The people of Kent unanimouſly took up arms and united with the weſtern counties. Eight thouſand Welch marched rapidly towards London. The duke of Buckingham appeared at the head of the nobility of the middle parts of the kingdom; the Scotch aſhamed of their proceedings entered the north of England under the command of the duke of Hamilton. The fleet revolted and eight large ſhips joined the prince of Wales who came from Holland with a ſquadron of twenty ſhips. Europe looked upon the independents as ruined and the parliament, who were oppreſſed by them, expected that the moment of their liberty was at hand; but Cromwell, more reſolute, more active and greater than ever, made head againſt thoſe various ſtorms that attacked him on all ſides. He immediately divided his army into different bodies, ſent out the leaſt conſiderable againſt the weakeſt of his enemies, and formed four powerful detachments. He diſpatched Fairfax to the

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ſouth, Lambert to the north, and advanced towards the weſt himſelf, whilſt Warwick on the eaſtern ſide oppoſed the prince's landing. Every thing was born down by the impetuoſity of Fairfax and Cromwell, the former ſubjected London, the counties of Surry and Cornwall, and preſſed the royaliſts in Colcheſter; the latter defeated the Welch, reduced the county of Herts and laid ſiege to Pembroke, a place of ſtrength that was gallantly defended; Buckingham was defeated by Lambert, and obliged to fly from England, and the prince of Wales after ſeveral ineffectual attempts, was forced to return to Holland.

The ſieges of Colcheſter and Pembroke detaining the commanders of the army, and the motions of the Scotch giving room to expect that they ſhould not be ſoon diſperſed, the houſe of Lords eagerly ſeized that opportunity of ſaving the king and perſuaded the commons, who were now at liberty to act from the abſence of Cromwell to renew the negociation. The king was taken from priſon and conducted to Newport, where a new treaty was offered to him; the conditions were indeed ſevere, but on his compliance he was to be reſtored to all the ſplendour of the throne. Charles ſubmitting to misfortune ſigned the ſevere clauſes with ſome reſtrictions, and nothing was now wanting but the ratification of parliament, which that aſſembly was ready to give. The army however ſuddenly appeared more powerful than ever. Fairfax

fax had taken Colcheſter, and returned to London after a conſtant train of ſucceſſes; Cromwell had performed prodigies, after routing the Engliſh royaliſts in the north, relieving Lambert who was preſſed hard by the Scotch; and attacking the latter in turn he defeated 25,000 of them with an army of 10,000 only. He ſubjected all the ſouthern parts of Scotland, entered the capital of that country as a conqueror and flattered though deteſted, obtained the title of protector of the nation; thence returning to London with his victorious troops, he appeared with authority which the rapidity and ſplendor of ſo many triumphs augmented. He now threw off the maſk entirely, and had a remonſtrance preſented to parliament, in which after condemning the treaty that had been renewed with the monarch, he demanded, in the name of the army and people, that Charles might be puniſhed as the guilty cauſe of all the blood that had been ſhed in the war, and that a new form of government ſhould be adopted. The parliament rejecting this propoſal with horror, the army carried off the king and removed him to Windſor. The troops then entered London, ſeized upon the avenues of both houſes and turned out one hundred and fifty members, forty of whom were ſent to priſon. Cromwell having thus got rid of the preſbyterians, who had ſtill ſome ſparks of virtue remaining, the bloody bill was paſſed. The houſe of peers continuing to reject it with indignation, and

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ſhewing themſelves inflexible to promiſes and threats, the independents declared that the legiſlative authority belonged only to the commons, becauſe the chief power originally lodged with the people. Out of the vile dregs of this fanatic and deſpicable aſſembly, one hundred and fifty commiſſioners were choſen to form a court of juſtice in order to paſs ſentence of death on one of the moſt powerful kings in the univerſe.

The cities and counties, the whole three kingdoms and all Europe ſhuddered at the news of the erection of this tribunal. The people of London ſtung with remorſe and ſtruck with conſternation openly deteſted the horrid attempt; the preſbyterian paſtors declamed in their ſermons againſt the enormity of parricide, the Scotch diſpatched the moſt ſpirited remonſtrances againſt thoſe proceeedings; the ſtates-general ordered their ambaſſadors to repreſent that this action would prove a ſcandal to the reformation. The elector Palatine flew to ſave his uncle; the lords were ready to ſacrifice their own heads to preſerve that of the king; the prince of Wales, duke of York, and prince of Orange offered to renounce all claim to the crown; the queen wrote in the moſt humble terms to the ſpeaker of the houſe of commons, and the ambaſſador of France joined his intreaties; but all proved ineffectual for the unfortunate Charles. Cromwell, who was one of his judges, encouraged his colleagues by his harangues and promiſes, by his affected inſpirations, his extatic tranſports

tranſports and tears; Fairfax reſtrained the people by the power of arms, and the miniſter Peters, ſeconding the deſigns of the independents, openly aſſerted from the pulpit the juſtice of the death of the ſovereign.

CHARLES, eſcorted by a guard of ſoldiers who inſulted him, appeared before the parricides and ſupported all the majeſty of his rank. He demanded with an air of dignity where was the houſe of peers, that conſtituted ſo eſſential a part of the repreſentatives of the nation; he diſdained to make any anſwer leaſt he ſhould appear to acknowlege an authority for which there was no more foundation than for that of pirates and robbers, and by that means expoſe himſelf to juſt reproaches for having betrayed the conſtitution.

WITHOUT the leaſt appearance of fear or anger, but with the moſt happy mixture of firmneſs and moderation, with a coolneſs and equanimity worthy of Socrates, he contemplated the deſpicable ſet of wretches that were ready to ſhed his blood.

HE conſented to juſtify his conduct before a legal and conſtitutional aſſembly of the nation, not as a criminal, a character incompatible with his rank, but as a father who was willing to give an account of his actions to his children. The barbarous tribunal voted him guilty of contumacy and condemned him to loſe his head, as a tyrant, traitor and murderer.

CHARLES

CHARLES paſſed the three days between the ſentence and execution with greater tranquility of mind than he had ever diſplayed on the throne. He conſoled with a ſerene countenance the few attendants that were ſtill left him; he ſent for the duke of Glouceſter his third ſon and Elizabeth the laſt of his daughters, and gave them the moſt ſalutary advice with reſpect to their future conduct: he particularly exhorted them to honour their mother, and deſired them to inform the prince of Wales that he forbid him to take any ſteps to avenge his death. He ſlept quietly the laſt night, aroſe with his uſual ſerenity, talked with the biſhop of London concerning the conduct of his ſons, deſired him to aſſure the queen of his tender affection, proceeded in the midſt of a body of ſoldiers, whoſe inſults he heard without emotion and aſcended the ſcaffold erected before his palace. He appeared with a compoſed and intrepid countenance and without affectation, made a ſhort ſpeech, confeſſed that he merited his ſufferings for his weakneſs in having conſented to the death of an innocent man. As he was going to lay his head on the block, he made a ſign to the biſhop of London and reminded him again of the orders he had given him, to adviſe his ſon not to avenge his wrongs, and then preſented his head to the executioner, who was maſked and ſtruck it off at a ſingle blow.

AFTER the death of the king, the court of juſtice aboliſhed the monarchy, proſcribed the prince

prince of Wales and duke of York, ſent the duke of Glouceſter to Holland, and the princeſs Elizabeth to the Iſle of Wight, where ſhe died of a broken heart. The court in ſhort ſuppreſſed the houſe of peers, and declaring that the ſupreme power had reverted to the people, it was veſted in the houſe of commons, who governed under the name of a republic.

ITALY.

ITALY continually menaced by the viceroys of Naples and governors of Milan, found her beſt protection in the wiſdom of Venice. The ſenate ſeeing the danger daily grow more urgent, redoubled their vigilance, and all their proceedings were guided by prudence united with the moſt intrepid reſolution. A war, that ſeemed at firſt to originate only from privates, gave them an opportunity of diſplaying all their policy.

A PEOPLE that originally came from Dalmatia were forced to retire from the cities taken by the Turks, and had formed a kind of republic in the little city of Segna on the borders of the gulph. In imitation of Romulus they had opened an aſylum for outlaws, robbers and all other criminals that had been obliged to fly their country and were wandering in different parts of Europe, and ſtrengthened by thoſe villains and vagabonds became pirates. The merchants of Venice had been inſulted in her ports

and

and the very barges of the ſenators were as little reſpected.

THE wiſe ſenate judging that this deſpicable people would not have dared to attack the republic, if they had not been countenanced by ſome power; and indeed they were not long before they diſcovered that the archduke of Gratz was the ſoul of all the motions of thoſe pirates. The republic began with making complaints at the courts of that prince and of Vienna. But weary of vain declarations that did not put a ſtop to the inſults of the barbarians, ſhe took up arms againſt them and blocked them up in their harbours. The ſenators diſarmed by the interpoſition of the court of Vienna were again attacked by thoſe robbers, who, being more powerfully ſupported than ever and of courſe more daring, ſpread deſolation through all parts of the Adriatic Sea.

THE Venetians looking upon thoſe enemies as unworthy of them, attacked the family that ſupported them, ſent an army to Frioul that menaced the hereditary dominions, and by that ſpirited proceeding obliged the court of Vienna to puniſh the pirates, who were removed from Segna into the interior parts of the continent and deprived of the power of committing farther depredations. The vengeance ſought by Bedmar in attempting to burn the city, ſerved only to excite the ſenate to keep a more watchful eye on the proceedings of Vienna and Madrid. They alarmed France in the affair of Valteline, and in concert

concert with her preſerved the province of the Griſons, a country of the greateſt importance to the liberty of Italy. In the ſucceſſion of Mantua, they united with the ſame crown in ſupporting the duke of Nevers, and deprived the Spaniards of a territory of ſuch conſequence when they were ready to take poſſeſſion. No leſs attentive to the motions of Rome, while they teſtified all the reſpect due to the head of religion, they ſtill oppoſed the uſurpations of the tiara with unſhaken reſolution. When Urban VIII therefore endeavoured to ſtrip the duke of Parma of the dutchy Caſtro, the republic openly protected that prince, raiſed a confederacy of the neighbouring powers in his favour, and aſſiſted by France obliged the pontiff to deſiſt from injuſtice. She exerted the ſame prudence for a long time in the management of her affairs with Turky. She kept upon peaceable terms with Achmet by a wiſe condeſcenſion without meanneſs; ſhe had no quarrel with Oſman or Amurat IV, notwithſtanding all her pride and ambition of the latter; but all her prudence availed nothing under the weak Ibrahim.

A Turkish veſſel taken by the Malteſe and carried into the port of Candia became the cauſe of a rupture. The wiſdom of the ſenate was ſtrangely remiſs on this occaſion; Venice deceived by aſſurances of friendſhip which the Ottoman court largely profeſſed, neglected the advice of her ambaſſador, and heard the preparations of the ſultan with indifference. The for-

midable fleet which was thought deſtined againſt Maltha, ſailed to Candia and found that iſland in the moſt defenceleſs ſituation. The forts ſurrendered after a weak reſiſtance, opened the road to the capital, and the victorious Turks began the famous ſiege that laſted thirty years, in which all Europe took part, where volunteers from all chriſtian nations flocked to diſplay their valour, and victory at laſt declared for the Turks after they had loſt 100,000 men and the moſt gallant defenders of the empire.

SAVOY.

Charles Emanuel, for ever reſtleſs and incapable of remaining quiet, continued ſucceſſively to attack all his neighbours or form ſchemes to circumvent them. He attempted to ſeize upon Montferrat, but Tuſcanny obliged him to deſiſt from that enterpriſe; he quarrelled with the governor of Milan and was on the very brink of ruin; he was indebted entirely for the preſervation of his dominions to the aſſiſtance of Leſdiguieres, whoſe courage he had ſo often experienced before. United with that general, he advanced againſt Genoa, and was in hopes of repairing his loſſes by the taking of that city; but his ally having deſerted him, he was forced to remain ſatisfied with a ſum of money. He fell out with the French when the extinction of the elder branch of the Gonzagues called the younger to the ſucceſſion, becauſe the then imagined there

there was a favourable opportunity of reviving his pretenſions to Montferrat; but after ſome advantages, Lewis XIII in perſon forced the paſs of Suza, took Pignerole, and obliged him to accept a peace that deprived him of all hopes of increaſing his power or territories.

VICTOR AMEDEUS renouncing the projects of his father accommodated matters with all the belligerent powers, made an alliance with the Gonzagues and attached himſelf conſtantly to France. He diſplayed his valour and abilities in the war of Parma, where, with the aſſiſtance of the brave Crequy, he gained important victories over the Spaniards. His ſhort reign was followed by a tumultuous regency.

CHRISTINA of France, who governed in the name of her ſon Francis Hyacinth, an infant under her guardianſhip, was attacked by her brothers-in-law who diſputed her authority. The French, who flew to the aſſiſtance of the ſiſter of their king, found the princes protected by the Spaniards, and Piedmont became the theatre of the animoſity of both nations. The death of the young ſovereign having transferred the dominions to Charles Emanuel II, who was ſcarce four years old, the quarrel was revived with greater violence between the mother and the uncles of the infant duke. The latter aſſiſted by the Spaniards ſuddenly ſeized upon Turin, and obliged the dutcheſs regent to fly precipitately with her ſon to the citadel. She was reduced to the greateſt extremity by her implacable bro-

thers-in-law and ready to fall into their hands when the count of Harcourt, the worthy deſcendant of his illuſtrious family, flew at the head of a ſmall body of French, croſſed Piedmont with aſtoniſhing celerity, reached Turin and beſieged that city which was in the hands of the princes. He was ſoon inveſted himſelf in his camp by a body of Spaniards of ſuperior force under the command of Leganez, one of the beſt generals of the age. Thus the citadel was beſieged by the princes of the blood of Savoy, the princes by Harcourt, and Harcourt by Leganez at the ſame time. The abilities of Harcourt extricated him from his dangerous ſituation in a few days, whilſt with a body of reſerve he oppoſed Leganez; he continued to attack the city with vigour, carried the place, delivered the princeſs, and reinforced by the garriſon fell upon the Spaniards, defeated and purſued them from city to city, and re-eſtabliſhed the dutcheſs and her ſon in the quiet poſſeſſion of their dominions and authority. The policy of Richelieu compleated what the valour of Harcourt had ſo happily begun; the princes were reconciled with France, and Thomas the more capable of the two, was declared generaliſſimo of all the forces of that kingdom and devoted his talents to her ſervice.

TUSCANY.

Cosmo II, in the midſt of ſuch confuſion and troubles had the art to preſerve the moſt profound peace in Tuſcany. His œconomy furniſhed him with

with funds to ſupport an army of 30,000 men, which he employed in making his power reſpected, or protecting his neighbours, but never in diſturbing their tranquility; his ſon Ferdinand II purſued the ſame plan and reigned with equal happineſs; he was the richeſt prince in Italy, and employed his treaſures in adorning Florence with magnificent ſtructures, in decorating it with maſter-pieces, and in uniting the ſplendor of his court with the happineſs of the people.

PARMA, MODENA AND MANTUA.

The family of Farneſe continually ſtruggled againſt the popes who endeavoured to ſtrip them of part of the poſſeſſions of their anceſtors, and preſerved them by the powerful ſuccours they received from the other princes of Italy; the Houſe of Eſt exhibited a moſt ſingular circumſtance at this period; Alphonſus III, prompted by grief for the loſs of an amiable conſort, quitted the palace of his anceſtors, and threw off the purple of the ſovereign to bury himſelf in a cloiſter under the habit of a capuchin friar. He left his dominions to his brother Francis, whoſe valour procured him the chief command of the confederates in the war againſt Urban VIII.

The extinction of the elder branch of the Gonzagues, by the death of Vincent II, produced a quarrel in which the houſes of Auſtria and Bourbon took part, and ſet Italy in a

flame. The duke of Nevers, head of the younger banch who was ſettled in France, having claimed the principality which nature gave him and his virtue deſerved, the emperor and king of Spain united to exclude the new ſovereign; France ſupported the ſubject of her ſovereign, and the duke of Nevers, after a long ſeries of alternate ſucceſſes and diſappointments, triumphed by his allies. He was unanimouſly acknowleged by the peace of Quieraſque, and governed his dominions under the name of Charles I.

GENOA.

GENOA, beſides the uneaſineſs ſhe felt from an ambitious neighbour, was likewiſe agitated by diſſenſions that aroſe between the two orders of nobility; the ancient nobles, vain of their origin and families, pretended to an excluſive right of power and authority. The other party, preſuming on their riches, contended for an equality at leaſt in the direction of government. This quarrel was ſtifled by the influence of prudent mediators, and ſoon after followed by another of more frivolous origin, but of much greater danger as to the conſequences.

A MAN of the loweſt birth and largeſt fortune, mortified by ſome ſtrokes of raillery with which the nobility puniſhed his inſolence, formed the deſign of exterminating their whole body, by betraying his country into the hands of Emanuel. Being detected in his projects, and

and having in vain invoked the protection of Savoy of whom he had been no more than the tool, his blood mingled with that of his accomplices re-eſtabliſhed tranquility.

POPES.

The authority the popes now enjoyed was precarious, and depended not only on the court of Madrid, but likewiſe on the viceroys of Naples and governors of Milan. Paul V, after being extricated from the fatal quarrel he had with Venice, repaired that imprudence by cares more worthy of his pontificate; he had the pleaſure to receive ambaſſadors from Japon, who came from the extremity of the Eaſt to honour in him the head of the religion embraced by their maſter; a numerous body of Greek ſchiſmatics conformed to the diſcipline of the Romiſh church, and the extenſive empire of Abyſſinia ſubmitted to his ſee.

Gregory XV, during his ſhort pontificate, exerted all his power in aſſiſting the houſe of Auſtria, in hopes of making that family inſtrumental afterwards in cruſhing the enemies of his throne. Urban VIII endeavoured in vain to ſtrip the duke of Parma of the important dutchy of Caſtro. He was more fortunate in his attempts upon Urbano, and united that dutchy to the territories of his ſee. At the ſame time he made uſeful regulations at Rome, gained the hearts of his ſubjects by his clemency, and the veneration of Europe by the wiſdom of his

conduct. In the midſt of thoſe labours he recreated himſelf with the muſes, blended the talents of the poet with the occupations of the ſovereign, and ſhewed himſelf the zealous protector of every virtue and ſcience.

SWITZERLAND.

SWITZERLAND perſiſted in her reſolution of avoiding any ſhare in the quarrels of her neighbours. She looked on with an eye of tranquility while the ambition of two powerful houſes and diſputes on account of religion involved the empire and Italy in confuſion; content with her own happineſs and never attempting to diſturb that of others, ſhe furniſhed all powers alike with brave and faithful ſoldiers.

LORRAINE.

LORRAINE peaceable and happy under Henry *the Good*, became the theatre of a war that ravaged the country under his ſucceſſor. We meet with few characters in hiſtory ſo ſingular as that of Charles III. This prince was a man of great capacity and political knowlege, yet he continually blundered in affairs of government. Adored by his people whom he conſtantly diſtreſſed, maſter of a well-diſciplined and obedient army whom he never paid; courted by all parties whom he favoured and betrayed inceſſantly; the friend and enemy of the French and Spaniards alternately, he

he quitted the ſovereignty twice and reſumed it in the ſame capricious manner, was a wanderer all his life, and, with talents capable of forming a great prince acted only the part of an adventurer.

As fickle in his amours as in the reſt of his conduct, he married the daughter of his paternal uncle from whom he derived his title to Lorraine; conceiving ſome diſlike to her afterwards, he attempted to retain the dominions of that princeſs, and diſſolve the marriage at the ſame time; after a reconciliation he quitted her again, and, during her life, married the princeſs of Cantecroix whom he paſſionately loved; but ſhe likewiſe became an object of diſguſt; he returned to his firſt conſort again, and having abandoned her the third time, contracted a marriage with a woman of the loweſt rank. Lorraine, under ſo inconſiſtent a ſoveregn, expoſed to the vengeance of thoſe princes whom he betrayed, ſaw her forts demoliſhed, her plains ravaged and her cities without commerce or induſtry become the prey of conquerors.

DENMARK.

DENMARK exhibited the long reign of Chriſtian IV, agitated with almoſt continual troubles and misfortunes. Flattered with the honour of becoming the head and avenger of the empire, this prince had the courage to attack the formidable Houſe of Auſtria in the midſt

midſt of all her proſperity and glory. His firſt efforts were ſucceſsful, but the moſt terrible misfortunes ſoon followed. Defeated by Valſtein, obliged to quit Germany, purſued into his hereditary dominions, and trembling for the fate of his capital he was forced to ſue for peace to the imperious victor, and thought himſelf happy to atone for the temerity of his undertaking by the ſacrifice of all his German poſſeſſions.

He had ſcarce begun to taſte the ſweets of a peace which he devoted to the happineſs of his people, when the famous Guſtavus penetrated into the heart of Germany, advanced to the frontiers of that empire and threatened deſtruction to the imperial family. He imagined that policy made it neceſſary to oppoſe the progreſs of a power that was growing boundleſs, and though he did not entirely raiſe the ſtandard during the life of that hero, he took advantage of the circumſtances of his death in order to attack his ſubjects. A plan ſo wiſely concerted was not however fortunate. His frontiers were invaded, and his ſtrongeſt fortreſſes ſurpriſed or deſtroyed; Jutland was ravaged, the adjacent iſlands plundered and laid waſte, and Copenhagen itſelf menaced with all the horrors of a ſiege.

Christian eſcaped from manifeſt ruin only by invoking the mediation of France, and giving up important cities the ancient poſſeſſions of his family. Let us not however judge of

of this prince from the ill ſucceſs of his arms; he was juſt, humane and a patron of all human knowlege; well acquainted with the intereſts of his ſcepter he had all the abilities to purſue them, and would have diſplayed a glorious reign had he not lived in ſuch fatal circumſtances as triumphed over all his prudence.

POLAND AND RUSSIA.

THE imprudence of Sigiſmund continued to exhauſt Poland in ſacrificing her forces in the execution of his vain projects. Engroſſed by the war of Ruſſia, he ſupported the impoſtor Demetrius, and led the nobles of his kingdom againſt Zuſki. When he ſaw the latter fallen and Demetrius triumphant, he abandoned the impoſtor who ſubſiſted only by his protection, and gave him up to the rage of the Tartars. He then immediately procured the election of his ſon Ladiſlas, and having left a weak garriſon with the new czar, returned to Poland to contend with more formidable enemies.

IN the mean time young Ladiſlus, who had no other way but by a wiſe and prudent conduct to make the Ruſſians forget that a ſtranger governed in the palace of their ancient czars, was entirely guided by the perfidious counſel of thoſe about his perſon, and the Polanders, whoſe crimes and exceſſes he permitted, became tyrants that added cruelty to inſult.

THE

THE numerous inhabitants of Moſcow took up arms, and the foreigners, attacked in the imperial palace, had no other reſource againſt the deſtructive rage of the populace but in ſetting fire to the houſes next the palace. The flames quickly ſpreading through a city built of wood terrified the people, and preſerved the Polanders for ſome time; their courage, the ardour of the young prince, and their judicious manœuvres re-eſtabliſhed affairs in part, and might have effectually recovered the ſuperiority; but Sigiſmund deſerting his ſon in a cowardly manner, after having exhauſted his dominions to procure him a foriegn crown, Ladiſlas looked upon his return to his country as an unexpected bleſſing, and left the Ruſſians to deliberate quietly on the choice of a new ſovereign. The remaining part of the life of the monarch was agitated with continual ſtorms and misfortunes through his obſtinacy againſt a ſuperior rival. The Poliſh ſovereign did not long ſurvive the ſhameful peace to which he was forced to conſent.

LADISLAS, much more worthy of the throne than his father, revived the war againſt his ancient enemies with ſucceſs. The Ruſſians, who had attacked his frontiers, raiſed the ſiege of Smolenſko with precipitation, and preſerved the interior parts of their country by the loſs of a province. Fortune favoured his arms ſtill more againſt the Turks, he made a horrid ſlaughter among them with the ſame ſword

that

that defeated them at the battle of Chokzim during the reign of his father. Equally great in the character of a ſtateſman as a ſoldier, he ſeized the critical moment of the misfortunes of the Swedes when they were defeated at Norlinguen, and negociated a peace by which Poland recovered the moſt important places of Pruſſia; but the proſperity of this glorious reign was eclipſed by the injuſtice of an individual.

A Polish nobleman, a near neighbour to the Coſſacks, inſulted that people, and burned ſome of their mills, to this injuſtice he added the moſt atrocious outrage, violated the wife of the chief of thoſe barbarians, and afterwards more barbarous than them murdered her and her ſons. The wretched Coſſacks demanded juſtice of the monarch, who found it impoſſible to comply with their deſires on account of the laws that protected the nobility; they therefore reſolved to ſeek vengeance themſelves, and a body of the moſt reſolute among them, with the ſword in one hand and a firebrand in the other, entered Poland, ravaged the country, burned the villages, deluged the cities with blood, and carried terror and deſolation to the very walls of Cracaw. All the valour of the Poliſh nobility was born down by the fury of the people who were naturally violent and ferocious, and now exerciſed their rage with juſtice. The ſouthern provinces were laid in aſhes and Ladiſlas had not the conſolation to ſee the concluſion of thoſe great calamities.

Russia

Russia enjoyed a calm and felicity to which ſhe had been a long time a ſtranger. Freed from impoſtors and foreigners ſhe made choice of a man of prudence and capacity, who was worthy of governing his countrymen. Michael, ſon to the patriarch Foedor, and deſcended by the mother from the ancient czars, was placed at the head of that vaſt empire. A peace wiſely made diſſipated all fears from Sweden and Poland, the tranquility produced by thoſe treaties was employed in reſtoring order that the revolutions of the throne had ſo long baniſhed from the ſtate; the effrontery of a fourth impoſtor, who ventured to declare himſelf Demetrius, was ſoon repreſſed by the prudence of the ſovereign; by well concerted meaſures he ſeized the perſon of that dangerous rebel and a rigorous but neceſſary puniſhment ſerved as an example to deter others from ſimilar temerity. This monarch, who was juſt, humane and the protector of innocence, ſilenced all jealouſy on account of his elevation over his equals and tranſmitted the crown quietly to his ſon.

Alexis followed the ſteps of his father and even out ſtripped him; Ruſſia in ſome ſort aſſumed a new form under him; ſome arts were produced, commerce was protected, induſtry improved, ſuperſtition leſſened and that country, till then ſunk in ignorance and darkneſs, began to perceive the dawn of reaſon and philoſophy appear. Her arms were not

ſucceſsful

ſucceſsful againſt the Swedes who then ſeemed to have chained victory to their Standards, but they maintained their glory againſt Poland and became formidable to the Turks, whoſe menaces were braved with the moſt heroic ſpirit. The Tartars were ſubjected to the yoke or forced to reſpect the limits of the empire in their incurſions, and the conqueſt of Siberia procured the court of Moſcow thoſe rich furs that form one of the moſt valuable parts of her revenues.

TURKY.

SENSUAL pleaſures in the ſeraglio, incapacity in the council, defeats in Europe and loſſes in Aſia were all that appeared under the feeble Achmet I. The weak Muſtapha, brother to that Sultan, after being raiſed from the obſcurity of a priſon to the throne, was thrown thence at the end of four months, and reſumed his fetters. He was ſucceeded by Oſman whom the Divan crowned at the age of ſixteen.

UNDER this young ſultan the empire emitted ſome rays of glory; he kept the Tartars in ſubjection, and repreſſed the Coſſacks whoſe veſſels ravaged the borders of the Black Sea. As he perceived thoſe people were ſecretly encouraged by Poland, he ſhewed his reſentment againſt that republic, marched againſt the country at the head of 300,000 men and

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the judicious meaſures he purſued ſeemed to promiſe indubitable ſucceſs. The plains contiguous to Chokzim became the theatre of the fate of that monarchy. Young Ladiſlas began the attack followed by the gallant nobles that his father had made ſubmiſſive to command; Oſman ſtill younger was at the head of the Janiſſaries and ſet an example of valour. But the ſultan in vain employed exhortations, menaces and prayers, the Janiſſaries would not ſecond his efforts, and a bloody defeat diſappointed the hopes of the brave Oſman. Being obliged to conclude a peace, he was reſolved to avenge his diſgrace on the rebellious authors by whom it was occaſioned. Provoked at the continual ſedition of that mutinous body and enraged at their recent cowardice, he formed a plan for diſbanding them and ſupplying their place with Arabian ſoldiers; ſenſible however of the impoſſibility of executing his deſigns at Conſtantinople, where the Janiſſaries were all-powerful, he determined to transfer the ſeat of Empire to ſome city of Aſia.

He carried on this great deſign with a prudence far ſuperior to his years and concealed his meaſures under the moſt ſpecious diſguiſe; but the perfidy or imprudence of one of his friends having betrayed the ſecret, the Janiſſaries aſſembled in a tumultuous manner, inveſted the ſeraglio, and with loud cries demanded the head of the vizir, whom they looked upon

upon as the author of the deſign. The generous refuſal of Oſman ſo far irritated this ſeditious ſoldiery that they loſt all reſpect for the throne, and, having forced the interior apartments, ſeized, inſulted and threw chains over the ſultan; in this condition they led him through the ſtreets of Conſtantinople with every mark of indignity and outrage that inſolence and brutality could ſuggeſt; the very prince, who in the morning was adored on the throne, was now placed in a duſt cart with a rope about his neck accompanied by the common hangman.

This ſcene was quickly ſucceeded by his death and reſtored the crown to the weak Muſtapha, who after enjoying his dignity for a few months, was depoſed a ſecond time and conducted once more to priſon. His ſon Amurat IV ſucceeded him, and under this monarch the ſeraglio was deluged with blood. Four brothers of the ſultan and Muſtapha himſelf periſhed by the fatal bow-ſtring. Religion was trampled upon, and the terror inſpired by this barbarous prince made the government odious; but juſtice at the ſame time was adminiſtred with admirable order; the Janiſſaries trembling under a maſter no leſs ſagacious than terrible, were afraid to utter the leaſt complaint; the Coſſacks driven into their marſhes were forced to reſpect the frontiers; the Perſians were defeated in three pitched battles and ſtripped of the provinces

they had uſurped; and Bagdad, the key of both empires, was ſubjected to the Ottoman yoke. The vigorous and active reign of Amurat was followed by the weak adminiſtration of Ibrahim his prodigal, debauched and ſtupid brother, under whom the ſtate was a ſcene of confuſion and diſorder. Affairs were neglected, the treaſures of the empire exhauſted in luxury and pleaſures, the provinces groaned under the oppreſſion of Bachas worthy of the weak deſpot who appointed them, and no woman was ſafe from the brutal paſſion of the prince.

The outrage he committed againſt the mufti in carrying off his daughter, became the occaſion of delivering the empire and deſtroying the tyrant. The vindictive pontiff ſecretly formed a conſpiracy in which he united the heads of the empire, and having ſecured their intereſt, raiſed the ſtandard of rebellion, thundered a ſpecies of excommunication againſt the head of his maſter, declared him unworthy of reigning, and by that means inflamed the minds of a ſuperſtitious populace who loudly demanded the death of the ſultan, and the mufti had his vengeance fully gratified by preſiding at the ſentence and execution of his maſter. Mahomet IV, ſon of the unfortunate Ibrahim was crowned at the age of ten, and his name ſerved as a cloke to the avarice and tyranny of the old ſultaneſs his grandmother; every thing was in confuſion

under

under this tumultuous regency, and the ſeraglio as well as the city became a prey to the moſt cruel diſorders.

TRANSILVANIA.

Transilvania continued to form a principality independent of Auſtria under the protection of Turky. Batory, depoſed by the court of Conſtantinople, was aſſaſſinated by his ſubjects whom he oppreſſed. Gabor, whoſe intrigues ſupplanted him, became formidable to the emperors of Germany; he invaded Hungary, found means to get himſelf crowned there, and did not renounce that throne without very valuable conſiderations.

His brother Stephen endeavoured to ſucceed him, but was ſet aſide by George Ragotoſki, who taking advantage of the misfortunes of Ferdinand II, flew to arms as Gabor had done before, raiſed the people of Hungary, threatened Vienna, forced the powerful Houſe of Auſtria eagerly to ſolicit the friendſhip of a prince of ſuch inferior force, and obtained rich conceſſions for his alliance.

AFRICA.

Morocco exhibited nothing but atrocious ſcenes that were performed between obſcure tyrants, and had no other connection with Europe but in the depredations committed by robbers who ſallied from her harbours. Al-

giers, Tripoli and Tunis continued to diſplay a repubic of pirates protected by the Turks to whom they were tributary, and ſuffered more ſhamefully by the chriſtians whom they carried into ſlavery.

RELIGION for a while united Abyſſinia with the Weſt; one of her emperors, having renounced the ſchiſm of the Greeks and publicly embraced the Romiſh doctrine, received a patriarch from the hands of the pontiff; but in the following reign the inconſiderate zeal of the clergy having occaſioned ſome diſturbances in the ſtate, that extenſive empire ſhook off the yoke of the Vatican, and the ancient worſhip was reſtored in a ſolemn manner.

ASIA.

THE ſame cauſe produced a ſimilar revolution in Japan with circumſtances far more barbarous. Chriſtianity, after triumphing for a century in thoſe iſlands, experienced the moſt bloody perſecution we meet with in the annals of that religion. Thirty-ſeven thouſand chriſtians were ſacrificed in one day, and ſealed with their blood their attachment to the chriſtian faith; all Europeans included in the proſcription were baniſhed from that rich empire, and the Dutch alone were allowed the privilege of trading with the country.

THE deſcendants of Gengis maintained themſelves on the throne of Indoſtan; about this period thoſe princes carried their arms againſt the

peninſula

peninſula between the Indus and Ganges, and ſubjected thoſe wealthy regions where the ſhips of Europe unladed the gold of Mexico and Peru. The famous Aureng-zeb began to make himſelf known at the court of his father by ambition that trampled on the moſt ſacred laws, before he was diſtinguiſhed for thoſe virtues that afterwards made him a bleſſing to India.

CHINA exhibited one of the greateſt revolutions recorded in the annals of Aſia. The Chineſe dynaſty, the authors of which had expelled the ſucceſſors of Gengis, and who reigned with ſo much glory for two centuries, terminated ſuddenly in the moſt tragical manner. All the provinces, weary of the yoke of a voluptuous tyrant, were in motion at the ſame time, took up arms and ſupported two obſcure rebels.

THE monarch beſieged in his capital, and deſpairing of any hopes of relief, plunged a dagger into the boſom of his daughter, and drew it thence but to bury it in his own heart; the queens and princes followed this bloody example, and the victor entering the the palace found nothing but dead bodies and a heap of aſhes. A faithful miniſter preferred the death and ſacrifice of a father whom he dearly loved, to the crime of ſurrendering an important fortreſs to the barbarous author of ſuch tragical diſtreſs; and afterwards conſulting nothing but the ſuggeſtions of hatred

againſt the criminal exceſſes of the rebels, he committed a more irreparable crime himſelf by calling in the Tartars to his country. Thoſe barbarous people, rouzed by his voice, ſoon overleaped the famous wall that ſeparated the empire from their country, made a rapid conqueſt of that flouriſhing monarchy, and ſeized on the throne which they promiſed to avenge. A memorable circumſtance was diſplayed on this occaſion, of which we have but one more example of ſimilar brightneſs in the hiſtory of mankind. Ignorant victors ſtruck with admiration at the wiſdom of the people they had conquered, reſpected their knowlege, protected and cheriſhed their arts and ſubmitted to the laws of their new ſubjects. The latter, on the other hand, ſeeing their worſhip and manners adopted by thoſe ſtrangers chearfully obeyed them, and the conqueſt was ſcarce accompliſhed when the moſt happy harmony ſeemed to have made but one nation of the two people.

REFLECTIONS.

RELIGIONS.

SPECULATIONS as uſeleſs perhaps as ſublime continued to diſturb the peace of the church of Rome. A celebrated jeſuit attempted to penetrate into the deep myſtery of predeſtination by the help of an ingenious ſyſtem. An army of opponents attacked this doctrine, and produced a conteſt which the prudence of the pope ſuppreſſed. Janſenius afterwards revived the diſpute, and by his talents made it more important. This famous biſhop of Ypres had meditated all his life on the writings of St. Auguſtin, and being perſuaded that the ideas of Molina were entirely contradictory to them, he flattered himſelf that he ſhould be able to refute the jeſuit by explaining the principles of the biſhop of Hippona, whom he conſidered as the only guide in thoſe matters.

"God in creating men had deſtined them all "to be free, juſt and happy. The diſobe- "dience of Adam, by communicating a ſpecies "of infection to the whole body of mankind, "had changed their nature and deſtiny. Con- "cupiſcence had taken place of primitive li- "berty, and that fatal propenſity governing "our hearts with deſpotic ſway, continually "dragged them down to earthly objects, in-

"fected all the actions of mankind, at-
"tacked even the moſt venerable principles,
"and made virtue itſelf in a manner vicious,
"by poiſoning its ſource. Thus all men be-
"came perpetual objects of the divine hatred,
"and muſt have been the victims of eternal
"vengeance; but God prompted by his mercy
"was willing to reſcue a ſmall number of
"men from this general reprobation. A vo-
"luntary and gratuitous predilection, inde-
"pendent of any merit of their own, ſelected
"thoſe few from all eternity; their ſalvation
"only engaged the attention of the divine
"Being; for them alone he cloathed himſelf
"with humanity and ſhed his blood, whence
"grace proceeded. This efficacious grace in
"itſelf invincible and irreſiſtible, ſubjects all
"the elect to a yoke no leſs pleaſing than
"powerful, and freed them from the influ-
"ence of the paſſions. It leads them in tri-
"umph to virtue until they are purified in this
"world and become objects of the compla-
"cency of the ſupreme Being, when a happy
"death carries them to the boſom of God."

Some objected that in this ſyſtem God ſhew-ed himſelf too ſevere and rigorous. As his mercy was as boundleſs as his juſtice, they could not, they ſaid, comprehend why the former ſhould make ſo few happy, whilſt the other ſacrificed ſuch numberleſs victims without pity.

It was argued, that the many ſacred oracles declaring a general pardon to mankind, and diſplaying the merciful diſpoſitions of God to ſave all, were annihilated by theſe tremendous opinions. It was aſked with great reaſon, what muſt become of free will; men in that caſe appeared to be no more than ſo many automatons entirely governed by two inviſible powers; one part of them muſt be plunged by concupiſcence into inevitable crimes and unlimited miſery, and the reſt raiſed by grace to forced virtues, and to a happineſs of which they were not worthy. All future exhortations and advice were made uſeleſs. The rigid deſtiny of antiquity muſt lead men either to a blind preſumption or dangerous deſpair.

Janſenius acknowleged ſome of thoſe conſequences, but ſheltered himſelf under original ſin, which by making all men infinitely culpable, juſtified the rigours of their deſtiny, and, without adopting the other propoſitions, he ſtill maintained the principles whence they ſeemed to flow. In ſhort, when he was preſſed hard, he quoted two venerable ſupports, the moſt learned of the apoſtles, and the moſt celebrated among the fathers, and aſſerted that his favourite Auguſtin was but an epitome of both.

The prudent biſhop introduced with great caution a ſyſtem that he foreſaw muſt occaſion great diſturbance; it is even believed that at his death he ſubmitted his work to the ſentence

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of the pontiffs. It was not favourable to him, ſeveral popes condemned the doctrine, and were in hopes of ſtifling it by their cenſures; but the diſciples of Janſenius, without contradicting the ſentence in a direct manner, pretended only that it attacked an imaginary being, becauſe the judge, not having rightly comprehended the thoughts of their maſter, had charged him with errors of which he never was guilty. Thus, without braving the thunders, they eluded them, and by that artful ſubterfuge inflamed a quarrel that has divided the church to the preſent time.

The ſpiritual anarchy that reigned in England gave birth to a great variety of whimſical ſects. That of the quakers, which united the pureſt virtue with the moſt ridiculous fanaticiſm, merits alone attention.

Fox, an Engliſh mechanic, fancied he ſaw chriſtianity disfigured in all ſects. He reviewed them all with the goſpel in his hand, and was perſuaded that avarice and pride had every where dictated imaginary doctrines to credulity. The law of nature appeared to him equally abuſed; he ſhuddered with horror at the view of human ſociety. A ſmall number poſſeſſed all things, acquired them without labour or induſtry, enjoyed them with oſtentation, commanded with arrogance and frequently with inhumanity; while the far greater part of mankind in labour, indigence and contempt were crawling

crawling at the feet of their tyrants whom they flattered with extravagant titles and criminal lies. Vanity and impoſture reigned upon earth and dictated barbarous compacts which protected the uſurpations of ſome ſucceſsful villains. Hence proceeded diſputes, quarrels and law-ſuits perpetuated by inſincerity and ſupported by perjury; hence aroſe treachery, murder and the more dreadful horrors of war, in which millions of men are butchered with cool deliberation.

Fox, to whom nature had given a feeling heart and warm imagination, was deeply affected by the view of thoſe calamities; the ſtrong deſire he had to leſſen them urged him to ſeek the means of gratifying his inclination; and his fancy heating by degrees, he at length perſuaded himſelf that heaven had ſent him to reſtore the purity of chriſtianity and the rights of nature. Fully impreſſed with the principles of Calvin that allows men to follow their own judgment in reading the goſpel, he ſtudied the ſacred writings with indefatigable application, and thence drew all his precepts.

Fox laid it down as the baſis of his doctrine, "that the divine legiſlator deſigned that "there ſhould be a perfect equality among "the faithful. The miniſters, even of the re-"formation, appeared to him to poſſeſs a cri-"minal ſuperiority. A chriſtian ſhould diſ-"dain every other mediator but Chriſt; he has

"no

" no occaſion for an interpreter to carry up his
" prayers to the Divinity.

" If the chriſtian is free, man ſhould be
" equally ſo, happy would it be, if morals hold-
" ing the place of virtue, all fears could be
" removed, and no other reward given to vir-
" tue but the pleaſure of practiſing it! But
" if the abuſe of the paſſions makes it neceſſary
" to have recourſe to laws in order to reſtrain
" them by the fear of puniſhment, if magi-
" ſtrates are to be armed with an authority for-
" midable to crimes; the heads of ſociety at
" leaſt ſhould always appear with meekneſs
" and ſimplicity of a father, never with the
" pride and oſtentation of a maſter.

" The pacific Fox however was far from
" wiſhing to oppoſe by violence the different
" forms of government eſtabliſhed in the
" world; he only meant that himſelf and all
" thoſe who wiſhed to follow virtue and avoid
" ſharing in the general depravity, muſt ſhun
" worldly dignities with as much care and zeal
" as the ambitious purſue them.

" The ridiculous titles with which mon-
" archs endeavour to add luſtre to their being,
" and the general cuſtom of ſpeaking to a
" ſingle man as if the diſcourſe were addreſſed
" to ſeveral, provoked the melancholy re-
" former; he looked upon it as an offence
" againſt the immenſity and majeſty of God,
" and as a preſumptuous attempt of men to
" ſwell and multiply themſelves in order to

" raiſe

" raiſe themſelves to an equality with the Su-
" preme Being. As to the pride and pomp
" of dreſs, no leſs incommodious than ſplen-
" did, gold and ſilver lace, embroidery and
" buttons that were uſeleſs; in ſhort, all thoſe
" ſuperfluous ornaments with which art and
" luxury load the garments of men, he conſi-
" dered them as criminal, contrary to the ex-
" ample of Chriſt and the venerable ſimplicity
" of the primitive ages.

" A VIRTUOUS life gives to the word of a
" citizen greater weight and credit than oaths
" can. It would be vain to expect truth from
" the mouth of a bad man, he commits per-
" jury with as little ſcruple as he tells an un-
" truth. Beſides it is degrading the Sovereign
" Majeſty to intereſt his name in the wretched
" follies of mankind. Yes or no are the only
" declarations allowed to the faithful.

" THE glory of arms could not prevent the
" reformer from ſeeing the calamities that pre-
" cede it. Under the laurels that bound the
" temples of heroes, he perceived deteſtable
" murderers. His benevolent ſoul could ne-
" ver permit his diſciples to butcher their fel-
" low-creatures in a methodical manner.

" HE would willingly make the fortunes of
" mankind equal, but as the diſorders that
" ſuch a reſolution muſt produce would not
" allow him to attempt it; he exacted that the
" continual benevolence of his followers ſhould
" repair the melancholy diſparity. The inhu-

" manity

" manity of a rich man who refuſed to hear the " cries of diſtreſs was a crime he thought never " to be forgiven."

Thus Fox, in founding a ſyſtem on humanity, ſimplicity and candour, was in hopes of forming a ſect in which all men equal in rank, and united by the love of virtue, without pride, diſputes or war, might endeavour to diſtinguiſh themſelves only by a conſtant attention to aſſiſt and relieve their fellow-creatures. This, according to him, is the true and ſole worſhip that God requires of us. All the ceremonies he perceived among other ſects he looked upon as veils of hypocriſy that was careful of a vain ſurface whilſt it neglected or deſtroyed the ſubſtance. He only deſired that a ſmall number of the faithful ſhould meet together on certain days, and one of them read the goſpel with an audible voice; that afterwards they ſhould meditate on what had been read in profound ſilence, and endeavour to detach their thoughts from all wordly objects.

Enthusiasm ever runs into extremes. In the aſſiſtance promiſed to thoſe who are aſſembled in the name of God, Fox imagined he ſaw a prophetic inſpiration, the impreſſion of which was felt in a holy tremor that preceded the ſpirit. This pious extravagance which expoſed him to ridicule was adopted by his followers and ſtill continues among them. The extraordinary attention they obſerve in their meetings,

meetings, heating their minds, they feel an emotion that is natural to the ſenſes when the imagination is long attached to the ſame object. Fanaticiſm likewiſe increaſing this tremor of the fibres produces that agitation of the body which occaſioned the name of Quakers to be given to the ſect.

It might be ſuppoſed that ſo extraordinary a ſect which exhibited a fund of virtue under ſo ſingular an exterior, ſhould meet with no adherents; but this very extravagancy was what ſecured the triumph of the reformer; becauſe ſingularity of dreſs has always a certain aſcendancy over the minds of men.

Fox found almoſt as many proſelytes in the villages as hearers; his ſect ſoon emerged from obſcurity and ſettled in the principal cities. The natural vanity of the great made them averſe to a doctrine that condemned all luxury and pride; the indolence and pleaſures of courts were ſtill more unfavourable to ſuch rigid morality. Cromwell loved war and feared virtue, and conſequently hated thoſe new doctors; but they remained firm and unſhaken by mortifications, exile and even torments; they increaſed by the very means employed to deſtroy them; and in the following reign William Penn, the ſon of a famous admiral, publicly embraced the ſect, and gave it a new degree of credit by his birth and rank. This ſecond founder obtained, ſome time after, a ſettlement for his brethren in North America,

which

which by their labour and induſtry, and ſtill more by their harmony became in a few years the moſt flouriſhing colony of England.

In France, Germany, Holland and England diſputes on account of religion produced civil wars, but in the two former ſtates religion was but a cloke and policy performed the principal part. Richelieu who attacked the proteſtants of Rochelle ſupported them with all his power in the empire; Guſtavus the protector of the Lutherans had no allies more firm than the French, who were catholics. In Holland it was but a tranſitory emotion that firſt aroſe from fanaticiſm and was afterwards ſupported by ambition. Gomar no leſs inhuman than his doctrine, perſecuted the arminians his adverſaries with inſatiable rage and ſolicited their proſcription. The ſtate was divided by thoſe two parties. A ſynod held at Dordrecht divided in favour of the cruel doctrine of Calvin, and the ſcaffolds flowed with blood. We have obſerved that arminianiſm was one of the pretexts the ambitious ſtatholder made uſe of to deſtroy the venerable magiſtrate, whoſe wiſdom obſtructed his deſigns.

A BARBAROUS war for ten years, three kingdoms in flames from one extremity to the other; a king attacked, betrayed, ſold, ſenteneed by villains and dying under the hands of an executioner, the throne trampled upon and deſtroyed by obſcure wretches; the moſt impious

impious effrontery crowned under a new title and quietly enjoying the fruits of villainy, ſuch was the bloody tragedy that fanaticiſm performed in England, where theſe dreadful examples are only to be found. This war on account of religion was one of the moſt barbarous ever recorded; but it is the laſt and no doubt ſcenes ſo diſgraceful to humanity will never be revived.

PHILOSOPHY that then began to beam forth and now enlightens Europe, has moſt probably for ever diſarmed ſuperſtition, becauſe it has convinced mankind that true religion is a friend to humanity, and that God can never approve the barbarous zeal that involves the world in miſery.

REVOLUTIONS.

A total change in the ſyſtem of Europe, new ſovereignties and bloody events, are the revolutions that policy exhibits.

SPAIN was totally altered. That vaſt monarchy, which half a century before had been the terror of Europe, was now in ſuch a languid condition, that ſhe was ſcarce able to defend herſelf againſt thoſe very neighbours ſhe threatened to invade. Holland was entirely diſmembered from her; Portugal had ſhaken off the yoke; Catalonia was in the greateſt danger; the Low Countries were attacked by

the arms of France; moſt of the colonies were in a defenceleſs ſtate, and ſeemed only to wait for the approach of an enemy to fall under a new maſter.

So rapid and viſible a decline was the neceſſary conſequence of internal diſorders which were remedied by the continual vigilance of Philip II, but proved deſtructive to the ſtate from the negligence of his ſucceſſors; thoſe diſorders were depopulation, neglect of agriculture, ignorance of arts, the wretched ſtate of the finances and tyranny of government.

The wars between the Chriſtians and Moors began to depopulate Spain; it is eaſy to conceive what deſtruction to poſterity muſt have reſulted from the ſlaughter of eight centuries between the followers of two different religions. This cauſe had ſcarce ceaſed, when America produced another. The Spaniards, attracted by the gold, flocked with emulation to thoſe new poſſeſſions and deſerted their old ſettlements.

Great numbers periſhed in thoſe emigrations. Spain however had a reſource for thoſe loſſes. The Saracens whom the laws excluded from America, who never followed the profeſſion of arms and lived in a religion favourable to propagation might have greatly multiplied, but Philip III, in the beginning of his reign drove them out by an edict, and thus baniſhed from his dominions an eighth part of the inhabitants. In ſhort, miſtaken devotion imagined that

that the numbers of cloiſters could never be too great, and thoſe became the laſt gulph that ſwallowed up the human ſpecies.

THE frequent examples of immenſe and rapid fortunes made in the Indies naturally led men to the contempt of agriculture, the profits of which were ſlow and inconſiderable. The people from their natural indolence, quitted with joy hard and continual labour; and government, inſtead of annexing honours to that profeſſion in order to flatter the vanity of the nation, left the barbarous prejudices ſubſiſting that conſidered tillage contemptible. Beſides huſbandmen ſeeing the monks reſpected and happy could not heſitate to quit a laborious and obſcure life for one more honourable and eaſy.

ABSURD pride threw an odium on the mechanic arts and indolence encouraged the notion. A ſimilar extravagancy diſdained part of the pleaſing arts, pleaſure and vanity however made them neceſſary, and they were obliged to have recourſe to foreign nations who made them pay an extravagant price for their induſtry. The gold of Spain therefore paſſed into the hands of ſtrangers, and the precious metals of America enriched the Engliſh, Dutch and French.

THE loſs of the gold and neglect of manufactures and tillage, neceſſarily produced diſorder in the finances. How was it poſſible to raiſe ſuch conſiderable taxes as were neceſſary

for the ſupport of ſo extenſive a monarchy from a nation that was poor and thinly inhabited? Beſides it was a received opinion at court that the greatneſs of the prince required a regular profuſion, no leſs ridiculous than extravagant. This occaſioned the decay of the fleets, ruinous fortifications and armies ill paid, who ſerved with reluctance, paid little attention to command and were ready to deſert whenever an occaſion offered.

To complete theſe misfortunes the dignity of the ſovereigns ſeemed to conſiſt, not in poſſeſſing a populous, flouriſhing and happy kingdom, not in commanding only what is reaſonable, and in reſpecting laws which are reaſon itſelf; but in ſeeing ſubjects crouching under the maſter and adoring the caprice of his miniſters. Hence aroſe on the ſide of the governors inſolence, oppreſſion and tyranny, on that of the people hatred, murmurs and ſedition.

The younger branch of Auſtria that ſettled in Germany ſeemed to inherit all the pre-eminence of power that the elder had recently loſt. For ten years the former poſſeſſed a ſuperiority that alarmed Europe. During that period every thing gave way to him, and all the intereſts of Chriſtendom were ſubject to the motions of the court of Vienna. Ferdinand II ſeemed to have fixed the ſuperiority of his family for ever; Turkey, either vanquiſhed by his arms, or fettered by his policy, ceaſed to diſturb his frontiers; the vain efforts of Hungary

gary to recover her privileges only ſerved to rivet her chains the faſter; Bohemia, whoſe forces were cruſhed at the battle of Prague, implored the clemency of the victor; the catholics of Germany crouching at the feet of their chief were ſo many ſlaves, whoſe hands he made uſe of in throwing chains over the oppoſite party. Among the proteſtant princes ſome were proſcribed fugitives who had not even a hope of ever reviſiting their native country, others ſcarce dared ſecretly to regret a liberty of which they no longer entertained any expectation.

The face of affairs in that part of Europe however ſuddenly changed. The emperor vanquiſhed, preſſed and overpowered by an enemy he deſpiſed, ſtripped of thoſe territories he had uſurped, attacked in his hereditary dominions and trembling for the fate of his capital, ſaw the moſt humiliating diſappointments ſucceed to the moſt aſtoniſhing elevation. The court of Vienna, far from diſputing the pre-eminence of power, dared not even pretend to an equality. Sweden ſeemed to have ſucceeded to the place of the Houſe of Auſtria; but too weak to preſerve a ſuperiority which ſhe derived only from one of thoſe extraordinary men whoſe immortal actions procured her no more than a temporary greatneſs, that monarchy was obliged, after the death of her hero, to reſign her part to a kingdom that was better able to ſupport it. France

appeared with reſources admirably directed, and began to form the ruling power of Europe, a character ſhe had loſt from the days of Charlemagne. Her arms triumphant by the talents of the heroes ſhe had produced, confirmed her ſuperiority, and the abilities of the miniſters of Munſter crowned this proſperity.

ENGLAND diſplayed the moſt bloody and ſingular event that has ever happened. Hiſtory exhibits many kings dethroned and murdered by their ſubjects, but it has furniſhed none, ſentenced in a regular manner, who were behaded on a ſcaffold. Some thing ſimilar happpened at Lacedemon in the perſon of Agis, who was hanged by order of the Ephori; but the kings of Lacedemon were only nominally ſo; they ſhould not be conſidered abſolutely as ſovereigns, but rather as hereditary generals of the army, ſubject to the authority of the republic. Charles I was a real monarch, whoſe rank was inviolable and ſacred by the laws themſelves.

THE fanaticiſm of the puritans and the ambition of ſome individuals were doubtleſs the principal cauſes of the misfortunes of this prince; in doing juſtice however to the underſtanding, the virtues and many excellent qualities that Charles poſſeſſed in a very eminent degree, in confeſſing that his generous delicacy which would not ſuffer him to abandon his friends to the rage of faction, was one of the glorious cauſes of his misfortunes; in conſidering him as one of the beſt princes that ever reigned,

reigned, we cannot deny but he himſelf occaſioned a part of the afflictions by the errors of his adminiſtration. The blind confidence he placed at the beginning of his reign in a man ſo unworthy of his favour, the contempt of the laws in raiſing ſeveral taxes, the little reſpect he ſhewed for the liberty of the ſubjects, the loans he forcibly extorted, his exceſſive kindneſs to thoſe near his perſon, his averſion to the parliament which he refuſed to aſſemble for a conſiderable time, his intolerant diſpoſition and the perſecutions he raiſed againſt the preſbyterians, all naturally contributed to alineate the hearts of the people. As he ſaw England in general diſcontented, it was an unpardonable fault to quarrel with the Scotch for a few ceremonies.

THERE can be no excuſe for the weakneſs he ſhewed in quitting ſo imprudently thoſe arms he had taken up with ſo much ſpirit againſt the revolted Scotch; his indecency in chuſing between him and his ſubjects other ſubjects as judges, that were equally diſſatisfied with his government, is ſtill leſs excuſable. His conſent to the death of earl Strafford, that is a diſgrace to his memory, completed his ruin, becauſe that criminal condeſcenſion not only encouraged the inſolence of his enemies, but contributed alſo to alineate the affections of his courtiers.

HIS conduct during the firſt years of the parliament was a ſeries of errors; he was

haughty and humble, timid and raſh generally at improper ſeaſons; he began with diſplaying an authority that it was impoſſible to ſupport, and concluded with unneceſſary conceſſions.

When he had gradually ſtripped himſelf of his privileges, and loſt all means of reducing the rebels, he was reſolved to have recourſe to force. He no doubt ſhewed an heroic courage in war; but even in that he diſcovered a weakneſs that deſtroyed him, for his blind confidence in traitors made him loſe opportunities of ſecuring a certain triumph. His flight to the Scotch, by whom he knew he was deteſted, his unaccountable faith in Cromwell, his eſcape to the Iſle of Wight, where his enemies commanded and his uſeleſs obſtinacy with reſpect to epiſcopacy, are ſo many ſhades that obſcure the laſt year of his life; but his laſt moments were thoſe of a hero and philoſopher. Charles never appeared ſo great upon the throne as before the houſe of commons and on the ſcaffold, in the midſt of his murderers or his deſpicable judges.

In ſhort, this monarch, conſidered as a private man was a model. A tender huſband, an excellent father, the beſt maſter that ever exiſted, he had all the good qualities of the heart and many of the mind. Conſidered as a king, he would have been perhaps one of the beſt that hiſtory has recorded, if he had reigned in peaceable times, and in a ſtate leſs tumultuous; but his hand was too weak to repreſs

the rage of fanaticiſm, and to reſtrain a people who are never obedient to their ſovereigns, unleſs they admire them.

The viciſſitudes of Muſtapha in ſhifting ſo often from the throne to a priſon; the misfortune of Oſman in being dragged from the ſame and murdered by the ſoldiery, and that of Ibrahim butchered by the ſentence of a vindictive mufti, were but the natural effects of arbitrary power. A deſpot who governs by terror is obliged to keep conſtantly round him a large body of guards in order to ſupport his authority. Thoſe guards, ſenſible of their importance to the ſultan, become naturally inſolent, and on the leaſt cauſe of diſcontent pull down the throne they are appointed to defend. We may obſerve however a difference in the revolutions that deſtroyed thoſe three ſultans. Muſtapha was dethroned through contempt, deteſtation butchered Ibrahim, and Oſman was ſtrangled becauſe he was eſteemed.

GOVERMENTS.

The treaty of Weſtphalia fixed the government of the empire which had never been rightly aſcertained before. The firſt Othos, though elective, were real monarchs; the princes of the Houſe of Suabia, though diſturbed by the popes, had exerciſed an authority more abſolute in ſome particulars and more dependent in others. The misfortunes of Frederic

deric II and his ſons had produced a real anarchy in which every thing was confounded, the people had no liberty, and the chief was without any power. The Auſtrian emperors, by a ſeries of well concerted meaſures, had inſenſibly reſtored ſome degree of vigour to their ſcepter; Charles V greatly increaſed it, and that able ſtateſman had left a plan to his ſucceſſors for acquiring abſolute power. Ferdinand I and his poſterity faithfully purſuing the path that had been pointed out, made great progreſs towards the accompliſhment of their deſign, the mildneſs of their government made them beloved, and facilitated their proceedings

Ferdinand II by ſeaſonably exerting an inflexible authority had ſecurely eſtabliſhed deſpotiſm, when Guſtavus and Richelieu ſubverted an edifice that had been erecting for ſo many ages. The arms of the former and the policy of the other triumphed over all the prudence of the court of Vienna, and prepared the form of government that was ſettled by the treaty of Weſtphalia. Germany became what it is at preſent, a body of ſovereigns and free cities united for the common welfare; this body is bound by general laws, and governed by a head who is no more than the inſtrument to execute the reſolutions of the ſtate.

The government of France exhibits a change totally different. The ancient traces of the feudal adminiſtration were aboliſhed; the general

neral ſtates that had been held from the very beginning of the monarchy now ceaſed for ever; the nobles entirely loſt the right of oppreſſing their vaſſals, and the people were deprived of the liberty of complaints or murmurs. The authority of all orders centered in the throne; the principal offices were ſuppreſſed and all was under the immediate hand of the monarch. This important change produced general tranquility, an advantage that compenſates for all others, becauſe it is that alone conſtitutes the true happineſs of a nation.

EVERY thing was confounded in England, where monarchy was ſucceeded by democracy, anarchy and a general ſubverſion of all law and order, and a phantom of a new republic was erected for a moment on the ruins of both throne and ſtate.

ILLUSTRIOUS SOVEREIGNS.

No period perhaps furniſhed fewer ſovereigns truly illuſtrious than this epocha. We have obſerved that the three moſt powerful kings who reigned were governed by their miniſters, Philip IV by Olivares, Lewis XIII by Richelieu and Charles I by Buckingham: we may add that the laſt of thoſe princes, who was ſuperior in capacity to the other two, had however the weakeſt miniſter.

GUSTAVUS

GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS was doubtleſs the greateſt monarch of this century, and few ages have produced one equal to him. The life of this celebrated man was a ſeries of aſtoniſhing actions. The gallant exploit by which, at the age of fourteen, he checked the proſperity of the Danes and ſecured the throne of his father; the noble ambition of governing at ſixteen, becauſe he perceived that affairs were ill managed; his dexterity in removing the obſtacles he met with from the prejudice conceived of his youth and inexperience; his penetration in diſcovering at ſo early an age the ſtate of his own kingdom and that of the neighbouring powers, and all that he had to fear from the one or hope from the other; the perſpicuity of his ideas that enabled him in a moment to conceive the natural connection of the projects he meditated; his prudence, activity and preſence of mind which, in the very heat and confuſion of a battle, never ſuffered him to overlook an error or advantage; his ſteady coolneſs and compoſure in the moſt rapid motions, which always remained undiſturbed in the midſt of the moſt intoxicating ſucceſſes: the battles of Leipſick and Lutren, the paſſage of the Leck and the conqueſt of all Germany in two campaigns, are circumſtances that raiſe him to an equality with the greateſt conquerors; but the many virtues he united with his various talents place him far above the common race of heroes. He was ſimple, modeſt, mild, affable,

affable, juſt, humane and a protector of every ſcience: in Guſtavus unarmed there were no traces to be found of that terrible warrior who made Germany tremble and alarmed Europe.

We introduce Cromwell on this occaſion with reluctance; but it is difficult to refuſe him a place among illuſtrious ſovereigns and the moſt extraordinary men. Some very reſpectable writers conſider him as the moſt aſtoniſhing genius that ever appeared, and in their enthuſiaſtic admiration, allow him to have poſſeſſed every mental endowment in the ſupreme degree. A great miniſter and ſome philoſophers, on the other hand, far from eſteeming him a wonderful man, have repreſented him only as a ſucceſsful adventurer, favoured by circumſtances, and who had no claim to any merit ſuperior to mediocrity.

In order to form a juſt idea of his talents let us conſider him as an orator, a general, a factious leader and a ſovereign. It muſt be confeſſed that in the firſt character Cromwell is far from appearing worthy of admiration. The numerous panegyriſts who extolled his eloquence had not doubtleſs read any of his harangues. They are an irregular compoſition of ſuch abſurd arguments, extravagant thoughts, pedantic quotations and low puerile expreſſions, that a judicious reader is aſtoniſhed how, with thoſe ſpeeches, he could have governed the general ſtates of a powerful nation.

It can not be denied but that there was an affectation in his manner of ſpeaking; Cromwell had no deſire to diſtinguiſh himſelf as an orator, his only view was to conciliate the confidence of the commons by adopting the ſtyle of a man inſpired, a ſtyle then much in vogue, and of great influence with that body; this induced him to make uſe of the myſtic jargon that disfigured his ſpeeches, and at which he ſecretly laughed himſelf as a variety of anecdotes prove; as he addreſſed himſelf to hearers moſtly fanatics, policy required that he ſhould employ the only language capable of pleaſing them and captivating their attention.

It is difficult to refuſe him the qualities of a general in a ſuperior degree. The various battles gained by his capacity and valour, his activity upon marches, the rapidity of his conqueſts, England, Scotland and Ireland ſubjected in as little time as would be neceſſary to travel over theſe countries; his numerous victories, and the many trophies raiſed from one extremity of Great Britain to another, are pretenſions that cannot be eaſily deſtroyed.

The martial ſpirit of the Engliſh nation had been extinguiſhed for ſome years, and this contributed to facilitate the ſucceſs of the uſurper: had Cromwell appeared on the continent againſt Guſtavus, Valſtein or Condé, he might not probably have reaped ſo many laurels; but without allowing him the firſt rank with illuſ-

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trious commanders we cannot at leaſt refuſe him a plaee among them.

It is a more eaſy taſk to eſtimate his talents as a leader of a party. A man born in the obſcurity of a private ſtation to have the art to make himſelf maſter, for ten years together, of all the deliberations of one of the wiſeſt parliaments that England can boaſt; to be the ſecret ſoul of a body ſo extenſive, ſo agitated and compoſed of ſuch different factions; to become the centrical point of all the ſchemes of ſo many parties entirely divided by intereſt and hatred; to ſow diſcord between that body and the head in ſuch an effectual manner, that it was impoſſible to extinguiſh the flames which he ſecretly kindled; after having made thoſe two powers irreconcileable to force them to take up arms and become as powerful in the camp as he had been in the houſe of commons; whilſt he made the parliament inſtrumental in the ruin of the prince, to ſecretly form and cheriſh a party in the aſſembly that deſtroyed it; to direct all the motions of that party always on proper occaſions, without ever appearing himſelf and coſtantly in a manner moſt conducive to his own ambitious deſigns; when he had thrown off the maſk to make uſe of that barbarous party in bringing the king to the ſcaffold, aboliſhing the monarchy, removing the peers and enſlaving the commons; and after having ſubverted the throne by the parliament, and annihilated the

parliament

parliament by the independents, to play upon thoſe in turn, to make uſe of their fanatical paſſion for liberty in order to deſtroy that very liberty, and under a new title make himſelf a more abſolute monarch than ever reigned in England; thoſe are phenomenons that, but for the proximity of the times would appear incredible, and entitle Cromwell to the wretched pre-eminence of being the moſt artful conſpirator that the annals of mankind have recorded.

He appeared no leſs aſtoniſhing as a ſovereign. When he had ſecurely eſtabliſhed his power by the fall and ſubjection of all parties, he became, under the title of protector, a ſimple, modeſt and wiſe deſpot; he reſtored order that he had deſtroyed, and made England as quiet and happy as ſhe had ever been under her legitimate maſters.

His nation at the ſame time was reſpected by all the world; he laid the foundation of the empire of the ſea, and made her alliance be ſolicited by all the powers of Europe. In ſhort that uſurper and murderer of his prince died in his bed convulſed with remorſe, but in the midſt of honours, and tranſmitted his power quietly to his ſon.

MINISTERS.

FRANCE diſplayed the greateſt miniſters of this century, and Richelieu undoubtedly ſhone with ſuperior luſtre to them all. The particular memoirs of this aſtoniſhing man muſt be conſulted, in order to ſee with what art he gained admittance at court, introduced himſelf to the notice of Mary of Medicis, gained her confidence and obtained the place of ſecretary of ſtate; how, after being involved in the diſdiſgrace of that princeſs and an exile himſelf, he made his misfortunes inſtrumental in acquiring a ſtill greater aſcendant over the mind of his benefactreſs, and gave her advice which ſhe imagined only uſeful to herſelf, but was in fact ſolely calculated to promote his own ends; how dexterouſly he created alternate diſſentions and reconcilations between her and her ſon, and always took care on thoſe occaſions to be paid for his mediation with ſome new dignity; with what artful meaſures he perſuaded Lewis, who deteſted him, to admit him into the council, and conſider him as a man neceſſary to his glory.

WHEN he had obtained or rather extorted an entire confidence, he formed projects the moſt extenſive and difficult, and till then conſidered impoſſible. Thoſe projects however which he conceived at the ſame time, he was far from executing together, when he had undertaken one he ſet all his engines at work

to prepare for another, but with ſuch ſecreſy and ſilence, that he always concealed the new blow he was meditatin gto ſtrike, from the moſt penetrating eyes.

Thus while he was cruſhing the proteſtants, he ſecretly ſapped the authority of the great, and, at the very moment he was humbling the latter, his attention was buſy in every quarter of Europe to ſeek, find and ſecretly encourage the enemies of Auſtria.

In the mean while he made the arms of France triumphant, created a marine, revived commerce and prepared the ſplendor of the ſucceeding reign; and whilſt he accompliſhed thoſe great objects, his eyes were no leſs attentive to the proceedings of his enemies. He entirely governed the irreſolution of a king, who continued to hate and began to fear him; he drove out the mother, brother and favourites of the prince; made the royal family tremble, ſubjected the whole court, diſcovered and fruſtrated various conſpiracies without ever ſhewing mercy to the guilty, and was ſo fortunate as not only to die in the plenitude of power, but to preſerve his influence in a manner in the tomb, by the continuation of his creatures and meaſures, ſo that the proſperity of the ſtate ſeemed to depend on his capacity.

We muſt however confeſs that this miniſter, in performing ſo many prodigies for the glory of the throne and nation, was much leſs attentive

attentive to the happineſs of both. The contempt of forms and regulations he introduced into the courts of juſtice, gave birth to the moſt dangerous abuſes, in preferring the ſevere and terrible policy of Lewis XI to the mild adminiſtration of Henry IV, he leſſened the attachment of the ſubjects to their prince. In fine, by enſlaving the nobles and the people he weakened in their hearts that pure and eſtimable patriotiſm, the firſt and ſurer reſource of all governments.

MAZARIN.

MAZARIN was not unworthy of ſucceeding Richelieu, but thoſe two miniſters are by no means to be conſidered as equals. That would be to compare art and cunning with extent, depth, ſtrength and ſublimity of genius.

OLIVAREZ.

CONFUSION in his deſigns, negligence as to the means, ſeverity and ſlowneſs were defects that placed Olivarez below thoſe two celebrated men; he poſſeſſed however great qualities; and had he governed in other circumſtances, if his rival had been a man of leſs ſurpriſing talents, and had he not too cloſely adhered to the plan of Philip II, he might probably haveſhone with luſtre as a miniſter.

OXENSTIERN and Davaux, the two illuſtrious miniſters that ſettled the treaty of Munſter,

merit a ſhare in the praiſes due to the greateſt ſtateſmen. When they were ſolicited by the emperor to regulate the conditions of peace privately with him, notwithſtanding he promiſed to make them as favourable as they could wiſh, they were not the dupes of thoſe arts that enſnared Mazarin. They were reſolved that every prince of Germany ſhould ſend deputies to the congreſs that they might be witneſſes of all the deliberations. Thoſe candid and open proceedings, more politic and perſuaſive than all the arts of duplicity and craft, gained the confidence of the Germanic body, and made France and Sweden miſtreſſes of the articles of peace.

MILITARY COMMANDERS.

Valstein, who conquered with ſuch rapidity Hungary, Bohemia and Germany, who reſiſted Guſtavus for ſome time, and who alone had the honour of ſtopping the torrent of his victories, was the moſt diſtinguiſhed general of his country. Germany alſo reckoned Tilli, Maximilian and Buquoi, who were in great eſteem before Guſtavus appeared; that country likewiſe exhibited Lamboi and Merci who, after the death of the conqueror, raiſed the throne of the emperor.

Weimar, Torſtanſon and Banier ſhewed themſelves worthy pupils of the hero under whom they had been formed. The unfortunate Montroſe wanted only a more ſplendid

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theatre and a cauſe leſs deſperate to have become the admiration of Europe.

FRANCE was a ſeminary of warriors. She diſplayed Harcourt, whoſe activity ſurpriſed and overpowered his enemies, Crequy the idol of the ſoldiery, a general who perfectly underſtood the art of encamping. The two Choiſeuls, both heirs of the valour of the long race of heroes from whom they deſcended; the impetuous, intrepid and virtuous Gaſſion, the pupil, companion and friend of the Swediſh monarch, taught Condé the leſſons he had learned from Guſtavus.

CONDE and Turenne at length began to diſtinguiſh themſelves. Nature herſelf ſeemed to have formed Condé for war, he was a hero befor he arrived at the age of manhood; Turenne became one by reflection and cloſe application, Condé more brilliant and rapid, was better qualified for ſudden operations; Turenne, with more reflection and deliberation, was more eſteemed in the courſe of a regular campaign; the one was formed for ſtorming and carrying a town or deciding a victory; the other admirable for making the moſt of an advantage, for effecting a retreat or repairing a misfortune.

NAVIGATION AND COMMERCE.

THE taſte for navigation and commerce that Henry IV and his miniſter had excited, was extinguiſhed under the regency of Mary of Medicis. Luynes, who ſucceeded the marſhal d'Ancre, was incapable of great deſigns, and never once thought of recovering that reſource. The city of Rochelle alone had a navy ſuperior to all the reſt of the kingdom. We have obſerved that Lewis XIII could not attack that city until he had borrowed ſome ſhips from Holland.

RICHELIEU was a man of too much capacity to be a ſtranger to the importance of that department. But as he was obliged to employ the forces of the monarchy againſt the Houſe of Auſtria, whoſe principal ſtrength was by land, he was forced to pay leſs attention to ſhipping and commerce. Under this miniſter however France acquired Martinico and Guadaloupe, and thoſe two American iſlands afterwards became rich ſources of navigation and commerce.

THE commerce of England that was ſo flouriſhing in the reign of Elizabeth did not decline under James I. That prince even augmented the number of ſhips, and encouraged ſhip-builders; the Engliſh had then the reputation of being ſuperior in the art of conſtructing ſhips to all other nations.

THE

THE colonies were improved under the ſame reign; Virginia, that was a ſettlement of no great conſequence in the time of Elizabeth, grew populous under James, and was looked upon as one of the moſt valuable poſſeſſions of Great Britain. New England till then confounded with Virginia, became her rival. Bermudas was firſt inhabited in this reign, and proved a convenient harbour to ſhips in their paſſage from one hemiſphere to the other.

CHARLES I, who had a much greater ſhare of capacity than his father, augmented the flouriſhing ſtate of navigation: the remote colonies were multiplied or improved under that prince, voyages to Greenland were undertaken, and the whale-fiſhery became an important object.

AN India Company was eſtabliſhed under the auſpices of the monarch, and the fertile iſland of Amboyna enriched the Engliſh with its valuable ſpices. The very misfortunes and weakneſs of Charles contributed to the increaſe of the Engliſh colonies. The perſecution that prince raiſed againſt the preſbyterians occaſioned many of the ſect to ſeek ſettlements in the new world; Boſton owed her greatneſs to thoſe emigrations.

THE rage of the preſbyterians, when they became maſters, oppreſſed the proteſtants and catholics, and urged them to take ſhelter in America, where they might quietly exerciſe

their religion; by this means the colony of Maryland was formed.

THE general confuſion inſtead of impeding the progreſs of commerce, ſerved only to increaſe it. The gentry, ſtripped of their poſſeſſions by the rebels, had no other reſource againſt want and miſery; and their example having diſpelled the prejudice that till then repreſented commerce as diſgraceful to nobility, the whole nation cultivated it with ardour and emulation. Thus, by a happy concurrence of circumſtances, the moſt tragical events that ſeemed to threaten the people of Britain with certain deſtruction, became the ſources of their proſperity.

NOTWITHSTANDING the flouriſhing ſtate of commerce and navigation in the Britiſh iſles, it was no way comparable to the progreſs of Holland. The Dutch viſited the coaſts of Africa, diſpoſſeſſed the Portugueze of part of Guinea, and made themſelves maſters of the ivory, gold and ſlave trade. They formed a ſettlement at the Cape of Good Hope, ſeized upon the iſland of Mauritius, conquered the iſland of Ceylon, drove the Engliſh from Amboyna, ſtripped the natives of a conſiderable part of the iſland of Java, made the kings of that country tributary, built Batavia there, made that place one of the richeſt and moſt powerful ſettlements in the world, and monopolized the ſpice trade which became a ſource of immenſe wealth.

THEY

They afterwards diſcovered countries near the South pole, and New Holland beyond the tropic of Capricorn; thence ſteering their courſe towards the North, they went in ſearch of the precious furs of Yeſo near the frigid zone. Ever attentive alſo to make advantage of the misfortunes of other nations of Europe, they found means to be excepted from the ſevere edict that prohibited all Europeans from entering the ports of Japan, and by that political ſtroke ſecured to themſelves the excluſive trade of ſilks, china, precious ſtones and gold of that powerful empire.

Whilst they made ſo rich a harveſt in the eaſtern ſeas, they traded in thoſe of the weſt with equal induſtry and ſucceſs. They ſhared in the advantages of the Greenland fiſhery, they entirely engroſſed the herring fiſhery on the coaſts of Europe, took advantage of the civil wars that diſtracted their neighbours and ſeized upon New York in North America.

In South America they ravaged Braſil and plundered Saint Salvador. They diſcovered a new paſſage to the South Seas and took prizes of immenſe value of the great ocean that ſeparates the Philippine iſlands from Peru.

This extenſive and ſplendid commerce did not however make them neglect one leſs ſpecious but equally lucrative. They viſited all foreign ports, purchaſed the products of one country and ſold them in another; became the

the factors and carriers of all the commodities of our hemiſphere.

By their policy in contenting themſelves with a ſlender profit, that was continually repeated, they acquired no leſs riches by this ſpecies of traffic than by that of their India Company. Copenhagen, Antwerp, Hamburgh and all the Hanſe towns ſaw their commerce decline. Amſterdam that occaſioned this revolution became the moſt famous city in the world, and her harbour crowded with ſhipping was made the rendezvous of all nations.

PHILOSOPHY.

If reaſon is the moſt glorious poſſeſſion of mankind, if truth is their moſt precious bleſſing, philoſophers who find the one and improve the other, ſhould be conſidered as ſuperior to all other men, and the age we have been reviewing is the brighteſt that we meet with in the annals of the world.

After running over the ſpace of twelve centuries, weary of contemplating the oppreſſion of ſo many tyrants, the ravages of various barbarians, and the deceitful arts of different fanatics, we ſit down with pleaſure to take a view of the diſcoveries made by a few philoſophers who have enlightened the world; we beſtow with joy the pure homage of admiration on thoſe exalted characters that have dignified the human ſpecies by extending the boundaries of their underſtanding.

Some

Some excellent men had already diſcovered the moſt valuable parts of morality; but they were incapable of ſupporting it with ſolid metaphyſics, without which the doctrine of morals is always vague. Metaphyſics were entirely unknown, and thoſe who undertook to teach them were leaſt acquainted with them: they are immediately connected with natural philoſophy; and this ſcience was in the moſt wretched ſtate in thoſe times. Ramus could do no more than lament the ſtudies of the age, and exhort men to improve them; his exhortations were little reliſhed by his own country, and remained unknown to all the reſt of the world.

The fine arts that were ſo flouriſhing in Europe, ſeemed to have been cultivated without any advantage to philoſophy; men of the moſt reſpectable talents endeavoured by aſtronomy to find out what influence the ſtars had on human actions; Bodin was afraid of ghoſts and viſions, and the learned de Thou believed in omens and preſages.

A long ſucceſſion of ages, the moſt venerable authorities and the voice of religion countenanced abſurd errors that were continually introduced under the name of Ariſtotle. Men of creative and ſublime ideas were wanting, men paſſionately zealous for truth who had courage to explain and ſupport it in ſpite of all the dangers that might attend ſuch bold attempts. England, France and Italy each furniſhed the world with one of thoſe extraordinary men.

Francis

FRANCIS BACON the ſon of a famous chancellor of England, was for a long time the oracle of the councils of his prince as well as of the parliaments of the nation. His ſagacity and penetration enabled him to expound all the myſtery of the laws, and his eloquence gained him the admiration of his country. Having attained to the dignity of his father under James I, he diſplayed a genius ſuperior to the honours of his ſtation, but a guilty compliance with the tyranny of Buckingham raiſed ſome ſuſpicions that his integrity was not equal to his underſtanding, and he was publicly impeached of the odious crime of venality and corruption. Deſerted by the monarch, who endeavoured to ſave his favourite by offering up another victim to the hatred of the people, his reputation was blaſted by a diſgraceful ſentence, and his fortune ruined by the heavy fine he was condemned to pay.

GROWN wiſe by thoſe afflictions, diſguſted with the great, honours and riches, he had recourſe to the uſual conſolation of ſtrong minds, philoſophy and learning. Both had adorned his days of proſperity, he had always cultivated them with ardour and zeal; but retiring from the world he devoted himſelf entirely to them with the moſt lively tranſports in the boſom of ſolitude. He ſtudied the antiquities of his country, traced the origin of its laws, wrote the hiſtory of one of the monarchs, inveſtigated the nature of the paſſions in An Eſſay

on

on Morality, and preſented the world with the ſoundeſt principles of policy.

At the ſame time he took a view of the knowlege and learning he had acquired in his youth, of the ſtudies of the univerſities and of thoſe ſyſtems of which preceding philoſophers were ſo vain. He was terrified at the chaos and confuſion he found; prompted by a love of order and method, without which all purſuits after knowlege are unprofitable, he felt the neceſſity of ſubverting the monſtrous edifice that barbariſm had erected in the ſchools, and of forming a plan entirely new.

He perceived that the firſt ſtep to be taken was to lay down a ſyſtem, with various gradations, to form a chain of the ſeveral branches of knowlege, and never attempt to transfer his attention to a new object, unleſs he firſt perceived the connection it had with a preceding diſcovery. Faithfully adhering to this plan, he formed a table of human knowlege relative to the three faculties of the ſoul, memory, imagination and judgment.

From thoſe three ſources he ſaw that all arts and ſciences were derived, and thus found a method of comprehending, without confuſion, the differences between thoſe that were diſtinct, and of conceiving the connections between ſuch as had any relation to each other. He afterwards endeavoured to aſcertain the truths diſcovered in each of thoſe ſciences, the errors which had been introduced into them, and the

neceſſary

neceſſary diſcoveries to be thence derived. He carried his attention ſo far as to form machines, inſtruments and contrive every other aſſiſtance and method that might contribute fully to lay open thoſe truths of which he had but a glimmering view.

But he was ſenſible that in ſuppoſing the poſſibility of ever riſing to the knowlege of firſt cauſes, this was not to be accompliſhed but by multiplying, collecting and comparing particular phenomenons; he ſaw that natural philoſophy in general muſt be the reſult of particular knowlege improved by reaſon and reflection; and that an attempt to aſcend immediately to cauſes in order to deſcend to effects would be the certain road to inevitable errors; this principle he explained in his *Organ of Sciences:* in that aſtoniſhing work, he pointed out every method and ſtep to be purſued, foreſaw the greateſt diſcoveries ſince made, and confuſedly predicted the wonderful powers of nature that were afterwards diſcovered by Sir Iſaac Newton.

If the countrymen of this philoſopher have made the moſt rapid progreſs in natural philoſophy, they are indebted for this advantage to his method, a method that left nothing to the illuſions of imagination, and led them to the knowlege of truth by the light of experience, the only ſure guide in thoſe purſuits.

In France Deſcartes had the glory of ſubverting the altars on which the abſurd philoſophy

ſophy of the ſchools had been revered for ſo many ages. Acute penetration, with an extenſive, daring and reſtleſs capacity, would not ſuffer him to remain ſatisfied with thoſe occult qualities by which men pretended to explain nature. Born with a reſolute and independent mind, he was provoked at the yoke they attempted to impoſe upon him, and ventured to ſuſpect that it was not the yoke of truth.

An enquiry founded on the deepeſt reflections ſoon verified his ſuſpicions, in the natural philoſophy of the age he perceived nothing but a ſeries of errors; and, notwithſtanding the conſiderable time he had ſpent in a celebrated college and the extaordinary reputation he had acquired for his knowlege and learning, he boldly declared that neither he nor his preceptors were acquainted with any ſcience. Reflecting on the ſingular blindneſs in which his country ſhared with the reſt of Europe, it appeared to him to proceed from the extravagant veneration men paid to received opinions.

In fact thoſe who ſtyled themſelves philoſophers were ſo far from employing their minds in reſearches after truth, that they looked upon ſuch attempts as raſhneſs and preſumption; all their ſagacity was confined to the ſtudy of Ariſtotle, and in their endeavours to diſcover his opinions they were frequently miſtaken.

Divinity likewiſe retarded the progreſs of philoſophy; but Deſcartes diſtinguiſhed thoſe

two

two branches; he was ſenſible that the authority ſo neceſſary to the former was the deſtruction of the latter, becauſe, as God himſelf is our guide in matters of religion, it would be folly to be apprehenſive of error; and on the other hand, as even the moſt intelligent man is liable every moment to become the ſport of illuſion; we are expoſed to continual falſehood and impoſition by blindly adopting the opinions of others.

This principle led him to doubt every notion he had imbibed from the hour of his birth, and to ſcrutinize them all with the moſt rigorous attention. Before he ſet about this enquiry he firmly reſolved to conſider nothing as true but what ſhould be confirmed by evident demonſtration, and this rule alone was to be the teſt of his conviction; he was determined to range without exception all opinions that wanted ſuch proofs among falſe or uncertain notions.

Thus after diveſting himſelf of all attachment and prejudice for thoſe very opinions, the truth of which had appeared moſt ſtriking before, he began with aſking himſelf whether he exiſted. Convinced of the reality of his exiſtence by thoſe very doubts he had formed, he examined into that portion of himſelf that doubted, and in this manner proceeded to an enquiry into the nature of the ſubſtance of his ſoul; from a view of its qualities he was convinced that it could not derive its exiſtence from

from itſelf, and endeavoured to find out the author who had produced it. Thus he arrived at the knowlege of a Supreme Being, whoſe nature and attributes he likewiſe enquired into; he found the world proceeded from him, and purſued thoſe reflections through all the various beings of the creation. In this manner he roſe from one doubt to another, and gradually reached the moſt ſublime objects, by carefully proceeding on conſequential principles.

Such was the ſyſtem of Deſcartes, diſtinguiſhed by the title of *Methodical Doubts*; and for which that philoſopher will be ever dear to mankind, becauſe it is the only light that can clear up the obſcurities of nature. By the help of this light he diſſipated the phantoms that had been revered for ſo many ages, and ſupported by the moſt reſpectable authority. This was a happineſs for himſelf, but could be of no advantage to his countrymen, unleſs he had the perilous reſolution to communicate his reflections and diſcoveries to them, and expoſe himſelf to all the rage of intereſt, envy and ſuperſtition.

Descartes had the courage to brave thoſe dangers, and the peripatetic philoſophers, attacked not only by his writings, but by numerous proſelytes that thoſe writings procured him were incapable of defending themſelves otherwiſe, than by ſcurrility, menaces and violence. His adverſaries obliged him to fly; but,

in retreating before ignorance and error, he left hands ready to deſtroy them.

DESCARTES exploded falſe ſcience, had he ſtrictly followed his own principles, his capacity might have led him to truth. In ſeeking for nature we ſhould ſtudy nature herſelf alone, follow her foot-ſteps with patience, contemplate them with diligent attention, and particularly avoid forming any ſyſtems, before we have ſought for effects by the ſlow courſe of regular experiment; in a word, we ſhould continually ſubject imagination to experience.

A LIVELY and extenſive imagination is not eaſily kept in ſubjection. It triumphed over the reaſon of Deſcartes, and led him aſtray. Quitting the path he had ſo happily entered, he gave looſe reins to a bold and fertile fancy, and, inſtead of a few fundamental truths he might have diſcovered, he introduced a great number of pleaſing and brilliant chimeras.

HE took abſtracted ſophiſtry for a demonſtration of the exiſtence of a Supreme Being; ſuppoſed innate ideas in the ſoul which it never poſſeſſed; formed a human body that had ſcarce any reſemblance to nature; and conſidered the moſt ſagacious animals in no other light, than as mere machines governed by the laws of mechaniſm; eſtabliſhed ſo compact a plenum in the world, and a ſubtle matter ſo denſe that motion muſt be impoſſible, or the celeſtial bodies at leaſt ſoon loſe it; his ideas with reſpect

ſpect to the formation and government of a plurality of worlds, have not even the merit of probability; he preſcribed laws to motion that are perfectly inconſiſtent, and pretended to determine the nature of it without having any notion of its principal properties. In ſhort, in the place of thoſe errors he deſtroyed, he ſubſtituted others no leſs numerous and conderable.

We muſt not however leſſen our gratitude for the labours of this illuſtrious Frenchman. If an active and warm imagination hurried him too far into the ſpirit of ſyſtem, and if this ſpirit, which is perhaps the greateſt obſtruction to the improvement of philoſophy, prevented him from making conſiderable progreſs in metaphyſics, or acquiring any knowlege of natural philoſophy, he had the honour however of ſuppreſſing more than any other perſon the falſe ſcience that then prevailed.

Bacon, who applied only to reaſon and judgment, was leſs calculated to draw men from their ancient prejudices than Deſcartes, who ſpoke to the imagination. His ingenious and ſeductive ſyſtem was of greater efficacy againſt the pretended doctrine of Ariſtotle than the moſt regular arguments. Human vanity was flattered with diſcovering that the world was no more than a machine formed according to the laws of mechaniſm, in which there ſeemed nothing difficult to be explained. Oc-

cult qualities were exploded, and succeeded by the glorious temerity of accounting for every thing; a happy disposition which often leads to falsehood, but gives the mind that activity and resolution without which men never arrive at truth.

A general impulse seized all philosophers; the boldness of Descartes inspired and animated every breast; the chimeras he had taught were not dangerous; he had furnished weapons himself against them, and instructed men not to be governed by the assertions of others, but to brave every authority and submit to nothing but reason and conviction.

Whilst Bacon shewed at a distance the road to be pursued, and furnished mankind with a clue to lead them to it; whilst Descartes rouzed men from ignorant sloth that had been so long satisfied with words, and inspired them with the courage to doubt as well as the desire of thinking for themselves, an illustrious Italian was labouring more essentially, perhaps, for the benefit of the world.

Galileo the Florentine did not give himself up to sublime conjectures or splendid hypotheses; not satisfied with pointing out the road to truth, and exhorting men to pursue it, he set the example, and appeared first in the path himself; advancing from one observation to another, constantly multiplying his proofs, and never reasoning but from them; he invited men to follow and accompany him in his endeavours

vours to inveſtigate all the ſecrets of nature.

THE heavens, the earth, the air and the ſea were the objects of his experiments and reflections. The moſt ſolid and valuable diſcoveries became the fruits of his labours in every branch, and the creation or at leaſt revival of experimental philoſophy was due to this great man.

IGNORANCE, envy and ſuperſtition too much dazzled by the glory of thoſe philoſophers, or fearful of the light they were introducing, obliged them to pay a ſevere tribute for their fame and ſplendor.

DESCARTES calumniated in his country, deſpiſed by his family, perſecuted and near falling a ſacrifice in Holland, would have found no ſhelter in the world he had enlightened, if a generous queen had not reigned in a remote region of the North. He terminated his days in a foreign climate; when the voice of admiration afterwards claimed his aſhes, and the reproach of having been ignorant of his merit carried them back to his country and honoured them with a monument; envy ſtill purſuing the remains of this great man, obtained an edict from a ſuperſtitious court to prevent any funeral oration to his memory.

GALILEO, more unfortunate ſtill, was firſt deprived of the profeſſorſhip of mathematics, becauſe he made experiments that deſtroyed the ancient fables. Grown more famous by

his great diſcoveries in aſtronomy, he was attacked by the moſt formidable authority. Loaded with chains, thrown into a dungeon, threatened with the moſt cruel torments, he had no other way of avoiding the flames that were prepared to conſume him but by renouncing the truths he had recently diſcovered. This neceſſary weakneſs did not however free him entirely from the power of the inquiſition. Shut up in a city where he was to remain a perpetual priſoner, he could not indulge the dangerous reſolution of confounding ignorance without fear and trembling; he was continually ſurrounded by ſpies and informers, and the flames he had ſo lately eſcaped were ever preſent to his imagination.

But tyranny and ignorance in vain attempted to extinguiſh the light that beamed forth in all quarters; the ſpirit of philoſophy daily made new progreſs, and the ſciences then began to ſoar on daring and ſublime wings.

MATHEMATICS.

Mathematics ſo much improved in the preceding century were now carried to a far greater degree of perfection. Napier a Scotchman invented logarithms. Cavalieri, an Italian, formed his geometry of indiviſibles; Paſchal who was a profound geometrician at the age of ſixteen, compoſed his arithmetical machine; Roberval explained the properties of the

the cycloid; Fermat gave the theory of tangents, and Ariot immortalized his name by that of equations.

Descartes extended the ideas of Ariot, improved the application of the algebraical analyſis diſcovered in the preceding century, and having added to thoſe diſcoveries an excellent theory of curves, gave in ſome meaſure a new form to geometry, rapidly carried that ſcience to a degree of perfection far beyond whatever it had attained before, and laid the foundation of the improvements afterwards made in the doctrine of infinites.

NATURAL PHILOSOPHY.

Natuaral philoſophy in general recovered two great principles by the genius of a Frenchman leſs celebrated but more a philoſopher perhaps than Deſcartes.

Epicurus conſidered the world as an immenſe ſpace in which atoms eternally floated in a vacuum, and united in contact or avoided each other by a reciprocal tendency or antipathy.

Aristotle, who ſucceeded him rejected thoſe two principles and re-eſtabliſhed an abſolute plenum. The world had adopted the opinion of this philoſopher, and Deſcartes himſelf, though an enemy to all the other ideas of the peripatetic philoſophy, confirmed this, and made it the baſis of his ſyſtem. As to the mu-

tual action of diſtant bodies, he looked upon it as one of the moſt abſurd chimeras.

GASSENDI, notwithſtanding thoſe ſeveral great authorities, was reſolved to re-eſtabliſh a ſyſtem that he approved; having excluded every thing he thought diſguſting in the doctrine of Epicurus, he ſupported with great force of argument the two principles on which it was founded. He had but few followers, the brilliant imagination of his rival captivated the minds of men and inclined them to favour his opinions; but our age has avenged the memory of Gaſſendi, and admires that penetration which, in the midſt of ſo great darkneſs, enabled him to diſcover two truths on which all our phyſical knowlege depends.

ASTRONOMY.

EVERY branch of natural philoſophy was at the ſame time greatly improved. Aſtronomy, the moſt glorious and ſatisfactory of all, was enriched with the moſt ſublime diſcoveries. The lights Copernicus had thrown on this ſcience were in a manner loſt. Superſtition condemned the immobility of the ſun as a criminal notion, whilſt abſurd arguments proſcribed it as ridiculous.

GALILEO was inclined to favour the ſyſtem of the Polander, becauſe it appeared more conformable to the order of nature, and impreſſed him with more exalted ideas of the Divinity

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and his works; but arguments of convenience not being ſufficient in philoſophy, he was reſolved to try whether obſervations would concur in ſupporting it.

After the moſt laborious and careful inquiry he found the phenomenons of nature to agree with his favourite idea, and deſtroy the contrary ſyſtems. He no longer heſitated therefore to exert all his efforts in reviving the aſtronomer of Thorn; he placed his ideas in a more regular form, furniſhed him with more coercive arguments, and ſupported him with more deciſive proofs.

In the midſt of thoſe occupations news was brought him of the invention of the teleſcope. Charmed with the hopes of magnifying and diſtinguiſhing more clearly the moſt diſtant bodies, he contemplated this inſtrument with all the rapture and attention which the love of truth produces in ſtrong minds, his reſearches proving ſucceſsful he ſo far improved the teleſcope, that objects appeared from thirty to forty degrees larger than to the naked eye; he then pointed it towards the heavens, and exulted in poſſeſſing ſo certain a means of verifying the conjectures of the Polander.

Should the ſyſtem be true Venus muſt appear frequently above the Sun, and Mars ſometimes approach nearer to the Earth than Venus. Copernicus had foretold this, and the truth or falſehood of this prophecy muſt of courſe prove the ſyſtem juſt or erroneous; every thing ſuc-

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ceeded to the wiſhes of Galileo, and the ideas of the Polander now appeared to him incontrovertible. The phaſes of Venus had likewiſe been predicted and their circumſtances deſcribed; thoſe were diſcovered as they had been foreſeen, and became a freſh demonſtration of the ſyſtem.

THIS flattering ſucceſs was a powerful encouragement to farther purſuits; the teleſcope was therefore pointed towards all the celeſtial bodies, and truths that were not even ſurmiſed before, now crowded on the eye of the philoſopher.

THE ſatellites of Jupiter were diſcovered, and the name of Medicis given them by Galileo, became an immortal monument of the liberality of that family. The milky way, before conſidered as the incomprehenſible effect of an unknown light, appeared to be a collection of ſtars whoſe diſtance was ſo much ſuperior to human conception, that it was impoſſible to diſtinguiſh them. Mountains were diſcovered and even meaſured in the moon, lakes and foreſts ſuſpected in that planet, and meteors ſimilar to thoſe ſeen in our atmoſphere were obſerved there; the ſatellite that turns round our globe was thence conſidered as a body of the ſame nature, and perfectly ſimilar to it.

THE mind of Galileo riſing in proportion as this glorious ſpectacle diſplayed itſelf to his view, he conceived the bold and ſplendid idea

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of conſidering all the planets as ſo many worlds moving with rapidity like ours round that immenſe body of fire whence light and heat are derived, having perhaps an atmoſphere, ſeas and all productions neceſſary for the preſervation of the inhabitants of thoſe immenſe globes. He afterwards quitted thoſe ſublime ſpeculations, and endeavoured by his obſervations of the ſtars to find ſure guides to the purſuits of mariners; he examined all the motions of the moon, traced its variations, attempted even to aſcertain the irregularities of that planet, and flattered himſelf with the hopes of diſcovering the longitude.

The loſs of ſight did not leſſen the zeal and ardour of this great man, one of his pupils animated by his genius, reſumed his labours, purſued them for ten whole years, and communicated the reſult of his tedious ſtudies. The papers in which this illuſtrious blind-man inſerted the reflections he made on the reports of his friend, might have furniſhed the world with a theory ſo long ſought for in vain, but ſuperſtition envied mankind the poſſeſſion of ſo ineſtimable a treaſure; the papers of the philoſopher fell into the hands of a credulous widow, and were carried to an eccleſiaſtic, who committed them to the flames.

Whilst the Italian philoſopher extended the ſphere of the world, exhibited a view of the

the vaulted firmament, multiplied the celeſtial bodies and pointed out their ſituation; Kepler the German ſtudied the motion of the planets, aſcertained the form of their orbits and determined the laws of their revolutions; thoſe laws have been acknowleged by all aſtronomers, fully confirmed by obſervations, and are ſufficiently known by the name of this philoſopher.

He alſo conjectured the rotation of the ſun on its axis, ſuſpected its action on the planets, and that of the planets on this luminary. He had ſome idea of the influence it has no the ebbing and flowing of the ſea. Kircher diſcovered its ſpots, and Schiner made uſe of them in aſcertaining the time of its revolution on its own axis.

GEOGRAPHY.

Able Geographers applied aſtronomy to their art and diſcovered rules in the heavens for determining the poſitions of the earth. The globe was meaſured with great exactneſs, the method of Fernel, ſo juſtly admired, was ſucceeded by a better. Snellius invented that of triangles, which was ſoon after improved by Blaeu and left room for no errors of any conſequence.

MECHANICS.

Mechanics likewiſe found a reſtorer in Galileo. He conſtructed machines himſelf by which he demonſtrated the laws of gravity and motion. He aſcertained the curves deſcribed by bombs; he determined the principles of the motion of pendulums, and by applying their vibrations to the diviſions of time, introduced thoſe ingenious clocks that point out the moſt minute parts of it.

Two pupils of this great man added to his various diſcoveries. Caſtelli faithfully adhering to the theory of his maſter, explained on ſolid principles the doctrine of the motion of running waters, an object of the greateſt utility either in draining infectious marſhes, or preventing and leſſening the ravages of inundations. Toricelli diſtinguiſhed himſelf equally in the ſame branch and acquired immortal reputation by a diſcovery of a much more glorious nature.

It was well known that by drawing out the air contained in a pipe, of which one extremity ſhould be placed in any fluid, the fluid would riſe conſiderably and aſſume the place of the air. The pretended horror of nature againſt a vacuum had been the only reaſon aſſigned for this phenomenon for upwards of two thouſand years. As water, however ſeldom roſe above thirty-two feet,

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it was added that this horror did not exiſt beyond that height. The learned world was ſatisfied with this ſolution, and the great Galileo himſelf had not rejected it.

Toricelli firſt diſdained the blind reply, and endeavoured to account for the phenomenon by an ingenious experiment. A tube plunged in quickſilver ſhewed him that fluid would not riſe beyond twenty-eight inches, he thence concluded that the cauſe of the riſing of various liquids muſt be ſome principle acting upon the ſurrounding ſurface, the power of which proportioned the effects to the weight and conſequently to the reſiſtance of the liquid confined in the tube.

Thoſe reflections led him by degrees to ſuſpect that the air was the acting principle he ſought, he conjectured the weight of that element, a circumſtance till then unknown to all ages. An experiment ſo glorious and the origin of the barometer was rapidly ſpread over Europe and received applauſe from every true philoſopher.

The celebrated Paſcal, who had already diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the mathematics, and became afterwards ſo illuſtrious by his eloquence was ſo forcibly ſtruck with that ſublime diſcovery, that he reſolved to confirm it by a demonſtration. If the cauſe that obliged the mercury to riſe in a glaſs tube ſhould be the weight of the column of air,

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the height of the fluid muſt be more conſiderable at the bottom of a valley than on the top of a mountain, becauſe the column being leſs conſiderable on riſing grounds the preſſure muſt of courſe be leſs. The famous experiment made on the well in Auvergne, and repeated afterwards on the higheſt towers of Paris, fully anſwered the expectations of the young philoſopher, diſplayed his penetration and inconteſtibly proved the opinion of the Italian obſervator.

OPTICS.

Optics were cultivated nearly with the ſame ſucceſs; Kepler, to whom aſtronomy was ſo much indebted, greatly improved this ſcience likewiſe; he diſcovered the uſe of the retina and ſhewed the exiſtence of images impreſſed on the eye. He explained the nature of refraction and made uſe of it to account for the clearneſs or confuſion of the ſight; he firſt gave a rational theory of teleſcopes and improving the ideas of Galileo, invented others much more perfect.

The microſcope was found out ſoon after, thus man acquired in ſome ſort two additional ſenſes; one that gave him a near view of the moſt diſtant bodies and carried him into the celeſtial regions; the other enlarged the moſt minute objects and ſhewed him a new ſpecies of

of beings that nature till then concealed from from his ſight.

By the help of thoſe two inſtruments man reaches to the two extremities of the univerſe, he is enabled to explore regions of unbounded extent and greatneſs, or to deſcend to the contemplation of atoms infinitely ſmall.

PHYSIC.

A glorious emulation animated all orders of men; the age of reflection and ideas was at length come. Phyſic recovered two fundamental truths, each of which could not fail to effect the moſt happy revolutions. The ancients were acquainted with the circulation of the blood, but during the ages of darkneſs and ignorance, that knowledge experienced the fate of other ſciences, and for a thouſand years ſuch a circumſtance was not even ſuſpected; Servetus conjectured it, but to no purpoſe, it was extinguiſhed in the flames in which that unfortunate man expired.

Harvey by deeply meditating on the human body and ſtrengthening his reflections by experiments that ſecured him againſt error and illuſion, at length raiſed that truth from oblivion and darkneſs. After having ſuffered the clamours of envy and ignorance which he deſpiſed, he had the pleaſure to ſee it acknowleged

knowleged by his country and ſoon after enlightened the reſt of Europe.

Sanctorius the Italian at the ſame time taught inſenſible perſpiration, and demonſtrated it by experiments made upon himſelf with incredible patience; this diſcovery which was entirely unknown before his time, threw great light upon anatomy, and proved of important advantage to the healing art.

MORALITY.

In the general fermentation of the minds of men who devoted themſelves to the ſciences; morality, the firſt and moſt ſublime of all, found ſome who endeavoured to diſperſe the clouds that ſtill obſcured it. The pure and ſacred laws of nature on which it is founded, and whence originate all other laws that are not falſe, were entirely disfigured. Falſe zeal had long confounded them with decrees that were doubtleſs reſpectable, but which time had produced, and ignorance had not yet learned to diſtinguiſh them from ſocial compacts. A few philoſophers endeavoured to clear up this chaos and emitted ſome rays of light, but it was reſerved for another age to diſplay the ſcience in all its glory and brightneſs.

Hobbes traced the laws of ſociety to their very origin, he conſidered man as he firſt came from the hands of nature, boldly examined

his rights and privileges, and from the moſt daring ſyſtem ever attempted, produced the moſt contemptible and puſillanimous plan.

MAN, according to his ideas, was originally bad; force alone formed ſocieties, and tyranny created empires. From this odious principle flowed conſequences equally ſhameful. Liberty even moderate was only calculated, he thought, to produce the greateſt diſorders; he looked upon deſpotiſm and terror as the only checks upon human paſſions. Thoſe horrid maxims made their author juſtly deteſtable, but they ſhould not make us blind to the great truths he blended with ſuch culpable opinions.

HARRINTON, on the contrary, attempted like Plato to eſtabliſh a perfect republic, and this chimera, of which he traced the plan in his *Oceana*, contributed to introduce more beneficent principles.

THE misfortunes of Charles I, occaſioned at the ſame time one of the moſt conſiderable queſtions relative to the laws of nations. It was aſked whether a people had a right to try, depoſe and even condemn their ſovereigns to death. This important queſtion was not treated with all the dignity of which it was ſuſceptible, and unfortunately the better cauſe had the weaker orator to ſupport it.

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SAUMAISE was a learned critic, a profound ſcholar, and the beſt grammarian of the age, but entirely deſtitute of the manly and forcible eloquence neceſſary for ſo exalted a ſubject; he defended but feebly the cauſe of monarchs; the famous Milton, the orator of the rebels exerted his efforts rather againſt his adverſary than in elucidating the queſtion. If ſome bright ſtrokes not unworthy his genius appeared in this work, they are entirely darkened by the violent abuſe and ſcurrility with which he attacked both his rival and the unfortunate monarch.

GROTIUS the Dutchman gave the beſt treatiſe on the law of nations. This writer at a very early period of life aſtoniſhed men of the moſt extenſive knowlege: he was a philoſopher, an orator and even a poet; and ſhewed that all thoſe talents might be united with the moſt ſublime objects of government; he was the friend of Barnwell, the oracle of his country and a long time ambaſſador from the moſt illuſtrious queen of the age at the moſt refined court in Europe.

THIS excellent man immortalized his name by his writings, but particularly by his Treatiſe on War and Peace, the firſt rational work that appeared on the ſubject, and which, notwithſtanding many errors, was worthy of being the baſis of all others that have been ſince produced.

HISTORY.

MORIN, Sirmond and Bochard inveſtigated the antiquities of the eccleſiaſtical hiſtory with great critical knowlege and learning. Voſſius, Marſham, Heinſius and Meurſius elucidated the obſcurity of the moſt remote times in the hiſtory of nations. Selden read the laws of Athens on the marbles of Paros, depoſited in the univerſity of Oxford by the care of Arundel.

PETEAU the jeſuit and the archbiſhop Uſſerius, guided by the moſt extenſive and certain knowlege, endeavoured to diſperſe the clouds that obſcured chronology. Mariana, who was a model as to diction, ſhewed Spain the beſt hiſtory that could be expected from his age and the habit he wore. Mezerai made amends for the weakneſs and obſcurity of his ſtyle by new ideas, profound reſearches and great impartiality.

CLARENDON left to England an ineſtimable monument of the misfortues of the monarch whoſe confidence he enjoyed. Waren gave a juſt and elegant deſcription of the ſtate of Ireland his native country; Strada painted the revolutions of Holland, and the talents of the duke of Parma in a maſterly manner, his work wanted nothing but impartiality to complete their merit. Thus able hands were employed

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on every ſide in finiſhing the edifice and promoting the triumph of ſcience.

LITERATURE.

WHILST the ſublime ſciences began to enlighten Europe the belles lettres continued to embelliſh it. They were however degenerating in Italy where the general taſte preferred the affectation of Marini to the noble ſimplicity of Taſſo. This was the epocha of a decline from which this branch of the arts has not ſince recovered; it is difficult to account for it otherwiſe than by the inconſtancy of the human mind that grows weary even of perfection.

SOME pieces however ſtill appeared in which delicacy of taſte was diſplayed; ſuch is the little ingenious poem of Taſſoni that became the model of one of the moſt pleaſing pieces of France; and ſuch likewiſe is the court of Parnaſſus by Bocallini, a ſatyrical poem replete with erudition, truth and taſte.

LITERATURE in Spain ſhared in the weakneſs that affected all parts of the ſtate. Poetry, that had ſhone with ſuch luſtre there, became the organ of unnatural ſentiments, affected forced images, and delighted in ſingularity of expreſſion. Lewis de Gongora, who introduced this vicious manner from Italy, was unfortunately ſucceſsful; this occaſioned numbers to imitate him and completed the triumph of

falſe taſte. The theatre of that country, which was the firſt that diſplayed any art or regularity in Europe, now ſuddenly degenerated. Lopez de Vega, whom ſo many writers have ſtyled the father of the drama, was the deſtruction of it. That poet, giving looſe reins to his impetuous and warm imagination, ſacrificed all regularity, decency and judgment to his capricious fancy, and inſtead of the regular pieces of his predeceſſors ſubſtituted monſters, of which ſome parts claimed admiration.

Prose more viſibly ſuffered from the general degeneracy. The paſſion for romances grew general; thoſe romances abounded with nothing but extravagant fictions, unnatural characters, gigantic ideas and perpetual metaphors, in which truth was ſacrificed to ſubtility and energy of ſound. The only work of taſte worthy of being tranſmitted to poſterity that appeared in thoſe times, was one that ridiculed the extravagant abſurdity of all the reſt; the reader will readily conceive that we allude to Don Quixote of Cervantes, a ſatire quite original, and the fineſt perhaps that modern languages can boaſt.

France and England took poſſeſſion of the inheritance that Italy and Spain relinquiſhed. Thoſe two rival nations from that moment aſſumed a ſuperiority in literature which they ſtill preſerve. They were inflamed with that noble emulation which daily increaſing, has,

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for a century paſt, produced maſter-pieces of every kind.

In the midſt of factions, the tumult of arms and horrors of captivity Waller cultivated poetry, tuned the Engliſh lyre to ſofter notes, and ſung of peace, love and pleaſure; he was accuſed of wanting ſtrength; but his ode on the death of Cromwell ſhewed that he was capable of riſing to the moſt ſublime height.

Cowley, who was reproached for affectation and want of harmony, compenſated for thoſe defects by the delicacy of his thoughts and ſometimes by ſimplicity. Donn the ſatyriſt was harſh in expreſſion, but diſplayed all the ſtrength and fire of Juvenal. Denham was admired for the vigour of his pencil in the poem of *Cooper's Hill*. Fairfax transferred to his own language a part of the beauties of Taſſo, and Harrington thoſe of Arioſto that are ſtill more difficult to be tranſlated.

Ben Johnson, far inferior in genius to Shakeſpear, but much ſuperior as to learning and art, ſupported and reformed the theatre. Milton at firſt employed his venal pen in the ſervice of the fanatics to whom he was ſecretary. Having loſt his ſight and grown old and poor, he ſhewed all the power of his genius in the poem, where, on the moſt extravagant ſubject, he diſplayed all the ſublimity of Homer, the fire of Virgil, the originality of Arioſto and the deſcriptions of Taſſo, with pictures ſtill more affecting.

CARDINAL Richelieu fixed the progreſs of the language by the inſtitution of the French academy. In this eſtabliſhment all diſtinction as to rank and birth was laid aſide by the legiſlator, and the members were on a perfect equality, a circumſtance no leſs glorious than advantageous to literature. We muſt however confeſs that the firſt perſons who formed this illuſtrious body were too weak for the taſk they had undertaken.

BOIS-ROBERT, Coſtar, Chapelain and many other writers formerly ſo much admired and now ſcarce noticed, had too little capacity to reform the language; rules dictated by men of a cold imagination were incapable of promoting energy and fire; hence aroſe thoſe imperfections which the labours of ſo many excellent writers have not been able to remove; from the ſame cauſe proceeded thoſe uſeleſs words and languid turns, that ſtiffneſs and remarkable monotony, eſpecially in poetry, which perhaps it will never be able to overcome entirely.

BUT if the firſt academicians did not give the language all the perfection of which it was capable, they however cleared away the ruſt that had covered it for ſo many ages. Men truly great appeared afterwards who ſubjected it to their genius, raiſed it to a level with the ſublimeſt ſubjects, and left it nothing to envy in any modern language. Balzac created proſe, and, notwitſtanding the tumid expreſ-

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ſions with which he diſgraced it, he gave it both dignity and harmony. Voiture, whoſe paſſion for puns ſhould place him among inferior writers, introduced art and grace. St. Evremond embelliſhed it with a ſoft negligence and delicacy, the merit of which a whole century, and the envy of conſiderable numbers could not deprive him.

PASCHAL, from whom the language was to receive perſpicuity, ſtrength and energy, was ſtill engroſſed by philoſophy and mathematics. D'Ablancourt multiplied models by his tranſlations of the beſt writers of antiquity. D'Urfé made the banks of Lignon famous by the firſt intereſting and ſentimental fiction. The pleadings of Patru were firſt diſtinguiſhed for arguments that derived new ſtrength from the choice of terms and perſpicuity of diction.

MALHERBE continued to form pupils. Menard imitated the elegance of his maſter, improved the harmony of French metre, and ſucceeded in madrigals; there are few pieces of the kind equal to that in which he paints the vanity of thoſe hopes he had placed in his protectors, and the tranquillity he enjoyed by his indifference as to favour and death. Racine, ſtill more worthy of being the diſciple of the father of poetry, gained reputation by his paſtorals, which in fact convey ſome idea of the charms of rural ſimplicity.

THE theatre remained in obſcurity notwithſtanding the efforts of Hardi, Triſtan and Rotrou;

trou; even Corneille himſelf was for a long time before he roſe above the mediocrity of thoſe men; but weary at length of imitation, and giving looſe reins to his imagination, he ſuddenly opened a new road, darted to the extremity of the career, confounded his rivals, who loſt ſight of him, and raviſhed the audience who admired him as a prodigy.

An intereſting ſubject, regularity in the plan, acts and ſcenes naturally following each other, epiſodes connected with the ſubject, characters drawn with ſtrength, all different and always conſiſtently ſupported: perſons ſpeaking with dignity and reaſon, the moſt diſtreſſing ſituations, ſublime ſentiments, a dialogue ſpirited and natural, ſtrong ideas, eloquence of expreſſion, pomp and harmony of of verſe, are what all Paris admired in the Cid, and which every part of Europe, where the piece was tranſlated, conſidered as a prodigious effort of human capacity.

The Horatii, Cinna and Polieuctes that were much ſuperior to the Cid, and appeared ſoon after, completed the glory of the poet and determined the ſuperiority of the French theatre. The great and ſublime Corneille never painted but in the ſtrongeſt colours, and ſeemed either not to know or elſe to diſdain the art of ſhading. Had he reliſhed more the ſimplicity of the ancients, if, entirely engroſſed by the deſire of raiſing admiration, he had not ſeemed to be ignorant that terror and pity are the firſt

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objects of tragedy, had he leſs frequently introduced love in his ſcenes or painted it better, if declamation did not generally conſtitute his ſublimeſt pieces, and had dignity of language always correſponded with the ſublimity of his thoughts, he would have ſurpaſſed the Greeks themſelves in this ſpecies of compoſition.

If more modern hands have gathered theſe laurels, if this glory has been reſerved for the father of Alzira, Merope and Mahomet, the author of thoſe maſter-pieces, is ſtill indebted to the creative genius for opening the road to immortality. Let envy pardon this elogium of a man ſtill living, 'tis the only one that the love of truth has extorted in this work.

FINE ARTS.

The fine arts ſtill flouriſhed in Italy. Guido Dominichini, and Albana formed pupils worthy of them. Andrew Saſchi, the ſcholar of the laſt, expreſſed the graces of his maſter with ſuperior ideas and more correctneſs of deſign. Peter of Cortona was not inferior to any of his predeceſſors as to the choice of his ſubject and richneſs of arrangement and compoſition.

Salvator Rosa expreſſed with great exactneſs, battles and ſhipping, and ſurpaſſed the painters of all nations in repreſenting the foliage of trees. A ſtranger who lived among thoſe great artiſts diſputed the prize of merit with them.

them. This was Eſpagnolet whoſe vigorous pencil made him inimitable in gloomy and terrible ſubjects.

The Flemiſh ſchool was at this time in its meridian. Rubens adorned it who, from his poetic elegance, richneſs of arangement and beauty of colouring, might have rivalled Raphael and Titian, if the imperfection of the drawing had not leſſened the merit of his maſter-pieces; Vandyke, the pupil of Rubens, more correct than his maſter with greater delicacy in the colouring, was the ableſt portrait painter among the moderns.

Rembrandt loſty in his deſigns, bold in his ſtrokes, without grace, but full of fire and energy, and aſtoniſhing with reſpect to the magic of his colours ſeems to give life to every object he repreſents; Dou and Metzu painted the occupations of private life with the moſt pleaſing ſimplicity; they were both eſteemed for the ſtriking ſingularity of their attitudes, and the finiſhing of their pieces.

Bamboch was ſuperior in burleſque objects, Broewer excelled in low and odd ſubjects; Heem diſtinguiſhed himſelf in flowers and inſects; Teniers painted village-feaſts and the innocent ſports of the inhabitants of the country.

The French ſchool was opened and ſhone at the very commencement. Vouet, who ſhould be conſidered as the father of this ſchool, would have found admirers in Italy. At his return

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from that country of arts he introduced into his own the true method of painting, and to the merit of producing fine pieces added that of forming pupils far ſuperior to himſelf.

From his ſchool proceeded Dufreſnoy, who excelled in drawing and acquired double glory by the Latin poem he wrote on his art; Mignard underſtood colouring better than any other artiſt of France; Bourdon palliated the imperfections of his drawing by the eaſe and freedom of his pencil, the fertility of his imagination and the delicacy of his ideas: Le Brun would have rivalled the greateſt maſters, if, with a happy choice of ſubject, judicious arrangement, dignity of ideas and truth of expreſſion, he had united more fire and ſentiment and greater delicacy of colouring; Le Sueur more defective ſtill in the latter part, ſurpaſſed however all his contemporaries in the power of expreſſing on canvas all the workings of the ſoul and all the various ſhades of the paſſions.

Le Pouſſin had no other maſter but his own genius; he has been called the Raphael of France but he was rather the Dominichini; like that artiſt whom he always ſtudied and admired; his compoſition was laboured, judicious and ſomewhat ſtiff, but full of truth and ſtrength, and of ſuperior merit to all the works of his countrymen.

Engraving was greatly improved in thoſe different ſchools. In Holland, Bloemart; in Italy, Stephen Labelle; in France, Perrier, Calot and Meulan diſplayed in their plates a

a vigour,

a vigour, delicacy and knowlege of light and ſhade that made their maſter-pieces inеſtimable.

France acquired a ſuperiority in ſculpture which ſhe has conſtantly preſerved. In thoſe times ſhe produced Guillin, Sarrazin, and the two Anguiers equally worthy of ſucceeding Pillon, Girardon and Puget.

Architecture was no leſs flouriſhing in that kingdom. The capital contains monuments that prove the eminent degree to which that art had been carried. The Luxemburgh, the moſt elegant of her palaces, was then raiſed; the front of St. Gervaſe, which has no boldneſs but is a model of regularity; the Sorbonne a ſtructure that is not unworthy of the celebrated body it contains; Val-de-Grace, the church that beſt diſplays the rank of the magnificent foundreſs, and the majeſty of the Supreme Being adored there.

Thus the fine arts, literature, philoſophy, policy and arms united for the glory of France, and made that country equal to any other in Europe. The boaſted reign of Lewis XIV owed all its glory to the preceding reign. The noble boldneſs of Deſcartes, the fire and enthuſiaſm of Corneille, the pencil of Vouet, the valour of Condé and the talents of Davau had ſet all the powers of the ſtate in motion, there was nothing wanting but to ſecond them, and follow the plan chalked out by Richelieu.

With the ſame hand that he raiſed the throne by ſubjecting the monarch, and the

glory

glory of his country while he enſlaved it, that immortal miniſter reſtored life to literature, revived the fine arts and encouraged every talent. In the ſame cloſet whence he cruſhed calviniſm, the great and Auſtria; he fixed the meridian, eſtabliſhed a botanical garden, dictated rules for the French academy, equally noble and wiſe; collected matter for hiſtory and drew up the plan of a tragedy.

After ſuch an example who can deſpiſe the arts? What miniſters or magiſtrates will endeavour to excuſe themſelves from protecting literature on account of the multiplicity of their occupations? Should there be found in our days any men of exalted rank inſenſible of their value, let them remember that Guſtavus Adolphus cheriſhed, reſpected and made them his oracles; that he never undertook a war before he conſulted Grotius whether he had juſtice on his ſide; let them recollect that the daughter of that hero made them her chief delight, and that Chriſtiana, while ſhe lived, was one of the greateſt ſovereigns of the age; they ſhould alſo conſider that the princeſs palatine, one of the brighteſt wits in thoſe days, thought it an honour to be ſtyled the friend and diſciple of Deſcartes.

A taste for the fine arts is in fact the diſtinctive mark that nature has impreſſed on great ſouls formed for glory, they naturally cheriſh great talents which alone are capable of ſecuring its duration; filled with ſentiments of humanity they neceſſarily protect the ſciences

ences that are uſeful in all countries and ages; for their influence is not confined to times or places where they flouriſh, but extended to every age and country; this is an advantage they have over all the actions of mankind. What benefit, in fact, can the greater part of the world derive from the conqueſts of Clovis, the capacity of Mahomet, the victories of Charlemagne, the valour of Godfrey of Bouillon, the prudence of Rodolph of Harpſburgh, or the policy of Charles V? What advantages has Germany reaped from the ambition of Philip II, or Spain from the talents of the miniſter of Lewis XIII? The whole world will for ever profit by the diſcoveries of Columbus, be inſtructed by Bacon, and enlightened by Galileo; in the frozen regions of Ruſſia genius catches fire from Corneille; the French embelliſh their imagination with Taſſo; and on the borders of the Thames the Engliſh enjoy the pieces that Raphael compoſed two hundred years ago on the banks of the Tiber, or a ſtatue formed by Michael Angelo on thoſe of the Arno.

EMPIRE, conqueſts and policy all vaniſh, all ſink at laſt into the eternal abyſs of ſilence and oblivion, the arts alone ſurvive and extend their beneficial effects to the moſt remote ages and nations.

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THE END.

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